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When Heritage Preservation Meets Living Memory: Constructing the Medina of Fez as a World Heritage Heterotopia

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Abstract

This project engages the UNESCO World Heritage program's international place-making and heritage preservation campaign, and the processes that are carried out to transform an everyday cultural place into a World Heritage site. I consider what effects these preservation projects and the tourists they attract have on communities of living memory, while also engaging non-Western conceptions of heritage and the local processes for how it is preserved or produced in such contexts. To these ends, I look at one of the first non-Western urban sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage list—the Medina of Fez, Morocco. The Medina offers a rich site for this analysis given its complex history as a preservation project, its status as the cultural capital of Morocco, and for a number of other reasons. I ask how preservation practices and protocols, as well as various discourses together *construct* the Medina *as* a World Heritage city and through what means is this spatial dynamic sustained. I also examine the effects of this Western driven global place-making and heritage preservation campaign employed within a non-Western place of living memory and memory practices. Through engaging these questions, I offer both a top-down (text-based analysis) and a bottom-up analysis (embodied spatial analysis) that draws from Foucaultian spatial theory, Michel de Certeau's poetics of space, and from literature in rhetorical studies and critical heritage studies. What follows is a three-part discussion of how the World Heritage place-making and preservation practices constitute a preservationist apparatus that renders heterotopic effects, how the heterotopia is grounded and sustained by the pedestrian rhetorics of tourists, local discourse, material preservation. Further, I engage how local meaning-making and memory work in the Medina of Fez offers a different understanding of how heritage is preserved and produced.

When Heritage Preservation Meets Living Memory:
Constructing the Medina of Fez as a World Heritage Heterotopia

by

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B.A. University of Wisconsin-Stout, 2011

Thesis

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Communication and Rhetorical Studies

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Heritage is everywhere. A growing obsession with preserving the past against decay and loss within the Western world has produced an ambitious movement to re-shape the global memoryscape and anchor our collective histories in space and time. Indeed, as Rodney Harrison contends, "we live in an age in which heritage is ubiquitous." The "expansive" modern definitions of what constitutes heritage in the contemporary world have fostered sophisticated "mechanisms for the categorization, cataloguing, and management of the past."¹ This notion is best captured by the global place-making and heritage preservation campaigns inaugurated by the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage (herein: *the Convention*).² The Convention brought forth the World Heritage List, a program that has since catalogued over 1000 heritage sites and practices across 160 State Parties.³ Immense in ambition and scope, the program today is among the largest and most adhered to international instruments in history.⁴ This speaks volumes to the global proliferation of heritage which has left few memory-bearing cultural sites, artifacts, and practices untouched. From Chinese Shadow Puppetry to the Pyramids of Giza, the entities that constitute the World Heritage List today are broadly diverse and all-inclusive. Indeed, the list includes intangible heritage practices such as cultural music, performances, traditions, and religious practices, to

¹ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 2013, p. 3.

² UNESCO = United Nations Education, Scientific and Culture Organization.

³ UNESCO defines "States Parties" as "countries which have adhered to the World Heritage Convention. They thereby agree to identity and nominate properties on their national territory to be considered for inscription on the World Heritage List. When a State Party nominates a property, it gives details of how a property is protected and provides a management plan for its upkeep" consistent with the Convention text and the Operational Guidelines which delineate best practices, policies, and protocols for restoring and preserving cultural sites.

⁴ While only 160 States Parties have had World Heritage sites official inscribed on the List, there are officially 190 State Parties that have ratified the Convention. "States Parties: Ratification status, UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/>. The only six countries (barring regions with disputed country status) that have not ratified the Convention are the Bahamas, South Sudan, Somalia, Timor Leste, Tuvalu, and Nauru. Only the UN itself (with 192 members) and the UNESCO itself (193 members) have greater international participation.

cultural sites and monuments ranging from Stonehenge and the Statue of Liberty, to Swedish farmhouses and the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates.

For the World Heritage program, the central tenet behind cataloguing and preserving these cultural sites, artifacts, and practices is that they exhibit "outstanding universal value" and thus "belong to all humankind." As Gwendolyn Wright asserts, however, the "very concept of preserving cultural communities is so positive that it is difficult to recognize the prevailing pattern of injustices" endemic of these preservation campaigns.⁵ Indeed, while this global place-making and preservation effort is truly astounding in its scope, the question of how these processes effect "local communities" is often left off the table. Such considerations are especially salient when considering the cultural impacts of Western heritage campaigns that are employed in non-Western contexts where definitions of what constitutes heritage may not be commensurable.

While questions of the effects that globalization, modernity, and transnationalism have on local populations and communities are indeed related to this project and have been engaged by many others, I instead use the terms "local community," "local place," "local space," and "local people" etc. in the narrowest sense of the term. From scholars like Anthony Giddens who draw on Deleuze and Guattari's concept of "deterritorialization," Arjun Appadurai's distinction between "locality" and "neighborhoods," and Kendall Phillips' and Mitchell Reyes' edited volume on "global memoryscapes," the meaning of "local" has been contested, complicated, and expanded in engaging these various tensions produced by the global flows of capital, people, technologies, memories, and languages.⁶ In brief, such considerations, perhaps best summed up

⁵ *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1991, p. 149.

⁶ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Arjun Appadurai, "The production of locality," in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 178 - 199; Kendall Phillips and Mitchell Reyes, *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age*, (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2011).

in Giddens' terms, explore how the "intensification of worldwide social relations... link distance local ties in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away."⁷ As such, these previous discussions are certainly related to how the Western-driven World Heritage campaign is articulated in the non-Western local community of the Medina of Fez. Scholars who engage such inquiries and tensions could use the findings from this project to stage future scholarship and continue to expand on how the Medina is caught up in a broader system of global circulation and meaning-making. However, given the limitations of this project, I leave this larger discussion to such future scholarship and instead focus on how this global place-making campaign is lived, felt, practiced, and otherwise manifest in the Medina's local spaces.

This thesis engages such questions through critically engaging the effects of World Heritage place-making on one of the first non-Western urban centers to be inscribed on the World Heritage list. Founded over 1200 years ago, the Medina of Fez (Medina), Morocco is the largest pedestrian city in the world, a walled city, and has proven a challenge for various preservation campaigns over the years and since first being inscribed in the program's early years. Focusing on the Medina through a three-part case study, then, this project will be driven by two primary research questions. First, how do UNESCO preservation practices and discourses construct the Medina as a World Heritage city and through what means is this spatial dynamic sustained? Second, what effects are rendered when a global heritage preservation campaign is employed within a local space of living memory and everyday memory practices? Many scholars have critically engaged the World Heritage program, especially focusing on the Convention text and the discourses and policies used to frame heritage sites. David Lowenthal, one of the progenitors of the nascent (inter)discipline of critical heritage studies, perhaps best exemplifies the trajectory of these critiques. Lowenthal asserts that "UNESCO protocols enthrone heritage as

⁷ *The Consequences of Modernity*, p. 64.

the sovereign core of collective identity" and that the "global popularity" of World Heritage sites "homogenizes heritage."⁸ In a similar vein and also characteristic of such scholarship, Laurajane Smith analyzes the power/knowledge relations at heritage sites. She contends that heritage "experts are not just another stakeholder group in the use of heritage. Expert values and knowledge, such as those embedded in archaeology, history and architecture among others, often set the agendas or provide the epistemological frameworks that define debates about the meaning and nature of the past and its heritage."⁹ This notion that ties World Heritage preservation protocols to power relations dominates the literature, and this thesis will draw from this conversation as well. However, the majority of these analyses engage in textual criticism of UNESCO policies and discourses, and recent calls suggest the need to move beyond "the discourse of heritage" and engage in field work at World Heritage sites.¹⁰ As such, this project will begin with an analysis of the discourse of heritage and power relations in order to frame the larger discussion, before moving to ground level in the Medina of Fez.

My project provides a bottom-up analysis of World Heritage place-making in the Medina of Fez, Morocco and considers its effects on local practices and spaces. Overall, I aim to begin prying open these power/knowledge relations to better understand the impact of a top-down heritage preservation campaign on local meaning-making and memory work. My central argument is that World Heritage discourses, practices, and protocols constitute a preservationist apparatus that alters the spatial and temporal dynamics of the Medina to become what Foucault refers to as a "heterotopia." In brief, heterotopia can be defined as a disembedded space of temporal discontinuity, that reflects all other spaces but which is still socially homogeneous. While Foucault never develops his notion of heterotopia in full, I borrow and extend this

⁸ *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 1998, p. 5.

⁹ *Uses of Heritage*, 2006, p. 51.

¹⁰ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 204 - 226.

contested concept not to reify the Medina as a heterotopic space, but instead to utilize the concept as a spatio-mnemonic lens throughout this project.

Along these lines I advance a number of secondary arguments as well. First, I suggest that the Medina, as a World Heritage heterotopia, is sustained as such by the "pedestrian rhetorics" of tourists—foreign bodies moving in local space—that give new meaning to these otherwise local spaces. Moreover, I argue that the heterotopia is sustained through Fassi's (the people of Fez) participation in upholding the World Heritage discourses in spaces of interaction with this touristic foreign other. Second, I advance a concept of "memory circuits" as a mode of vernacular heritage preservation endemic of non-Western conceptions of heritage. This discussion aims to move away from thinking about heritage preservation in terms of the materiality of heritage symbols and toward a notion of heritage as essentially intangible and constituted within the spaces between a range of heritage elements, material, kinesthetic, embodied, and experiential. Given the multi-faceted nature of both the Medina and the World Heritage program, this thesis project will only provide a limited reading of the broader discursive, material, and performative scene therein. Moreover, given this complexity, my analysis will not merely be grounded in rhetoric—although the rhetorical dimensions of these various issues will be discussed throughout—but will draw equally from a range of disciplines and theorists. In all, however, this project will provide an analysis from an embodied and embedded research position that affords a bottom-up conception of the construction of a World Heritage city that would not be feasible through a top-down textual analysis. It provides a reading of how global discourses shape local-level discursive scenes, how bodies move and make meaning through space, and how memories are rhetorically mobilized and heritage preserved through circuitous relations between people, places, affects, practices, and things.

Preserving the Medina of Fez: Oriental & Colonial Histories

Fez was established in 896 as the first capital of Morocco. Despite losing that title in 1912 when the French re-located the capital to Rabat it is still widely regarded as the cultural and spiritual center of this Maghreb nation. It is the largest pedestrian city in the world with over 9,000 small roads, some no wider than a few feet from wall to wall, that wind through just 1.15 square miles of space. Surrounded and enclosed by a wall that ranges between approximately twenty to thirty feet high, this densely populated Medina (or "old city") is inhabited by nearly 200,000 Fassi. The Medina of Fez is also famously home to the al-Qarawiyyin Mosque, the second biggest mosque in Morocco and the oldest university in the world. Given its cultural and spiritual significance, Fez is deeply rooted as a meaningful place for Morocco. Among the World Heritage program's earliest nominations and non-Western inscriptions on the List, Fez was nominated in 1976 and officially inscribed in 1981.

An early-age World Heritage site and an unique example of urban design, preservation experts initially viewed the Medina as a "model Muslim city." As former UNESCO director general Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow stated with regard to the Medina preservation campaign, "the operation exemplifies, by virtue of its scope, one of the major challenges to which humanity must rise if it is to preserve and enrich its cultural heritage in the face of accelerated modernization and industrialization."¹¹ Due to the exceptional character of this prototypical Muslim city and the unique challenges that preservationists faced, the Medina was viewed as a case study for application and consideration in future preservation projects in similar cultural contexts. This was not only the case for UNESCO and the construction of other World Heritage sites, but also for the Moroccan government. As stated in the World Bank report detailing the implementation of their preservation campaign: "For the central Government [of Morocco], the

¹¹ Josh Martin, "Fez: Preserving a city," *Saudi Aramco World*, (1993): 20 - 27.

project was the opportunity to test an approach that could be applied to other historic cities across the country... The lessons learned from the project's housing rehabilitation component... should also inform the... national approach to historic housing rehabilitation."¹² In this same vein, this project also may serve as case study that could set the stage for future engagements with World Heritage sites or further explorations of the Medina of Fez itself.

The history of the Medina is too deep and extensive to be adequately discussed given the limitations of this project. However, it is important to note criticisms of Morocco's colonial history in relation to early preservation campaigns in Fez. That is, while the focus of this thesis project will be World Heritage preservation of the Medina, Wright suggests that this Muslim city was a "heritage preservation" project since the beginning of the French protectorate in 1912. "For those who fell under its spell," Wright suggests, "colonial Morocco represented at once a modernist vision of formal order... and an exotic dream of voluptuousness."¹³ As such, "what [the French] sought..." fell under two "disparate headings: modernism and preservation." While they built modern European centers to flourish economically alongside traditional cities such as Marrakech and Fez, the French simultaneously tried "to shield traditional Moroccan social life from the destructive impact of that modernization."¹⁴ Making strict demarcations between the modern and developing world that the French were "inventing" against the traditional and "timeless" world that needed to be preserved, such dichotomies were not naive or merely essentializing. A "clear political agenda" underscored this vision of an unchanging unity of Moroccan life, and thus preservation, although also an aesthetic effort, was "conspicuously

¹² "Implementation completion report... for the Fez Medina Rehabilitation Campaign," *A Document of the World Bank*, (2006), p. 8.

¹³ *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, pp. 84 - 85.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 86.

exploitative" and a means of quelling dissent through ostensible recognition for traditional ways of life.¹⁵

As colonial-driven Moroccan campaigns advanced, one way that preservation became exploitative was through treating such efforts as aesthetic projects of capturing and disseminating the past to foreign publics. The monuments and the urban fabrics of the Moroccan Medinas of Casablanca, Marrakesh, and Fez became "caught up in the commercialization of Moroccan art, past and present... in the guise of protecting it." Privileged Europeans could come to Morocco, stay in the French urban districts with all of their modern conveniences, and tour the traditional Moroccan cities at their leisure. Such preservation projects thus became a "Western stage-setting for Moroccan life" in order to create "a Disneyland world." Through these efforts, Wright asserts that the French architects carefully and deliberately delineated a spatial separation between the new and the old, but also sought to arrest any future development altogether for the latter. In effect, they "fell prey to the desire for stopping time and history that is always implicit in a preservation campaign... [and] froze time for the Moroccans."¹⁶ Moreover, this early preservation project bared traces of a paternalistically driven, "oversimplified" aesthetic fascination and "generalization about Islamic aesthetics" that resonates with Edward Said's notion of "Orientalism."¹⁷ While Orientalism will not be a concept engaged in this larger project, it is worth noting its ties to early preservation campaigns in Morocco.

Said's seminal 1978 book expands on the notion of Orientalism to describe a constraining and totalizing form of cultural misrecognition endemic of how the Western world viewed the "the Orient" as essentially "other." For Said, Orientalism is constitutive of a "corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it,

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 88 - 90.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 157 - 159.

¹⁷ Ibid.

authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."¹⁸ As a set of discourses intended to dominant Asia and the Middle East, then, Orientalism for Said is a construction brought forth by an authorial romanticizing of the culture, people, ways of life, and aesthetics therein. It is a mode of Western visuality that functions to justify paternalistic imposition for the colonial movements of European nations, and a brutal statement for Western superiority.¹⁹ That is, such oversimplifications and romantic renderings of these cultures did not merely stop at the level of aesthetics. Said suggests that such discourses were a means of comparison and affirmation of Western identity, of setting the Western mind and culture distinctly apart from the Eastern, and thus a claim for the dominance of European reason as well. In such essentializing discourse, Orientals and Arabs were described as "gullible," "cunning," as demonstrating "unkindness to animals," "inveterate liars," "and [that they] in everything oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race."²⁰ As a mode of domination and justification for colonial rule, this set of discourses was also carried out in early-stage heritage preservation campaigns in Morocco (and elsewhere).

Indeed, as the French colonial project developed into the 1920s and as "signs of Oriental claims for political independence" were growing widespread, a shift in this paternalistic thinking moved from simple domination and essentialization to an implicit language of preservation and

¹⁸ *Orientalism*, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 3.

¹⁹ Said, writing on the British colonial project in Egypt, writes that the discourses that described and analyzed the Egyptian people amounted a clear dichotomization of Western and Oriental people: "There are Westerners, and there are Orientals. The former dominant; the latter must be dominated, which usually means having their land occupied their internal affairs rigidly controlled, their blood and treasure put at the disposal of one or another Western power." Ibid, p. 36.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 38 - 39. As Said notes, however, these notions of setting apart the Oriental other from Westerners was not merely a means of justifying colonial rule, for such demarcations had been going on for hundreds if not thousands of years. In fact, these descriptions and demarcations were able to be articulated in this way because of this "earlier tradition of Orientalism" that far preceded the "nineteenth-century" and which "provided them with a vocabulary, imagery, rhetoric, and figures with which to say it. Yet Orientalism reinforced, and was reinforced by, the certain knowledge that Europe or the West literally commanded the vastly greater part of the earth's surface." Together this constituted a form of Orientalism as a "kind of intellectual power" comprised of a "library or archive of information commonly... and unanimously held..." and a "family of ideas" and "unifying set of values proven to be effective" in domination." Ibid, pp. 41 - 42.

late-hour responsibility.²¹ As Sylvain Lévi, president of the Société asiatique wrote in 1925 on the "urgency of the East-West problem: These people are inheritors of a long tradition of history, of art, and of religion, the sense of which they have not entirely lost... We have assumed the responsibility of intervening in their development, sometimes without consulting them, sometimes in answer to their request."²² While Lévi is referring specifically to engaging with Orientals in the "economic exchange market," Wright suggests that this notion of responsibility and fears over the loss of history also extended to material preservation campaigns as well. Commenting on French colonial urban projects in Fez, Wright suggests that "historic preservation [in Morocco] had a deeply political aspect, providing the French with additional justifications for their domination." Extending Said, she argues that the colonial project not only saw the Orientals and Arabs as illogical, lazy, and requiring intervention and support, but also framed them as having no conception of the value of their own history. During this period, the preservation of "[h]istoric monuments likewise served a conspicuous political function." That is, these colonial-era preservation campaigns held monuments and monumental structures as material symbols of power and of chief concern in maintaining Moroccan aesthetic culture. Wright suggests that the concept of conserving monuments was foreign to Arab locals however, which for the French served as further "proof of the conviction that only [the latter] could fully appreciate the Moroccan past and its beauty."²³ This rift between what was deemed worthy of preservation and thus what was important to the historical past became a justification for greater paternalistic oversight and the writing of new narratives that "properly" framed these broader cultural meanings as interpreted by the French.

²¹ Ibid, p. 248.

²² Ibid, p. 248.

²³ Along these same lines, Wright cites Emile Pauty, a writer for the French institute during this period, who wrote "chided the Muslims, 'for whom the passage of time is nothing, [and] who let their monuments fall into ruin with as much indifference as they once showed ardor in building them.'" *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, p. 117.

The writings and discourses endemic of Said's notion of Orientalism and which underpinned the colonial romanticizing of these cultures thus framed such preservation efforts, imbuing these narratives into the material structures that the French aestheticized. After the protectorate was lifted in 1956 and the French left Morocco, such discourses lingered and would soon be picked up again in the preservation campaigns to come just twenty years later via the UNESCO.²⁴ However, as Geoff Porter points out, "even if we were to accept these problematic colonial interpretations of Fez's past and their peculiar ideological and political baggage, Fez's Medina changed in the interim between colonial ethnographies and histories and the current heritage preservation project."²⁵ Porter suggests that while colonial discourses may have lingered, that the new dominant narrative was inscribed once the Medina became a World Heritage city.

The procedure for nominating and ultimately inscribing the Medina on the List began in 1972 when the UNESCO sent two representatives to assess the project. As Stefano Bianca reported, one of the principle actors in the early preservation campaign in Fez, the two representatives concluded that "the monuments of Fez could not be considered in isolation: preserving them would involve the entire old city, and the old city was in its turn part of a complete urban system."²⁶ As a result, a larger project was scheduled and deployed between 1976 and 1978 to draw up a master plan for restoring and preserving the Medina with a more holistic vision in mind. However, Bianca concludes that the drawing up of and subsequent implementation of the master plan was doomed to failure from the outset. "For a city as complex as Fez was," writes Bianca, "and with the handicap of a team for the most part recruited ad hoc

²⁴ Geoff Porter, "Unwitting actors: The preservation of Fez's cultural heritage," *Radical History Review*, 86, (2003), pp. 125 - 126.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 126.

²⁶ Stefano Bianca. "Conservation and Rehabilitation Projects for the Old City of Fez." In Margaret Bentley Sevcenko (ed.), *Adaptive Reuse: Integrating Traditional Areas into the Modern Urban Fabric* (Cambridge: MIT Laboratory of Architecture and Planning, 1983), p. 47

and therefore somewhat unbalanced in the professions represented on it, the time allotted was clearly insufficient. A great deal of it was spent on reconnaissance, data collection, and problem assessment, leaving relatively little for proposals and guidelines."²⁷ As these smaller teams could not grapple with the complexity of the Medina, it was nominated as a World Heritage city in 1978 and inscribed in 1981 wherein UNESCO called upon the international community to come together over the massive preservation project.

While Bianca led early teams in carrying out the project and wrote a number of reports on the early days of the campaign, the World Bank took the lead in the mid-1990s and are still currently the dominant financial and supportive institution in the Medina today. As stated in the World Bank's "Project Summary Document" published in 1998, "Safeguarding the... Medina benefits not only its residents but also the nation and the world. The unique character of the city is a source of pride to Moroccans and the tourism it generates provides a source of foreign currency revenue to the nation as well as employment and income to the local residents." Building on the plans and documents all the way from Bianca's days and the early years of the World Heritage project, the World Bank built a plan that construct a sustainable tourist network which would ultimately boost the local economy. They proposed a \$14 million budget. However, as I will discuss at the end of chapter 1, the project has largely been seen as a failure due to the complexity of the Medina and the challenges that preservationists have faced.²⁸ Since the early days of the preservation campaign, the Medina's complexity has never been fully ironed out or has been able to be fully understood in terms of the standard approaches to preservation. Moreover, even the discourses used to frame the Medina on the World Heritage List are inclusive of everything from traditions and knowledge, to monuments and fountains. Given

²⁷ "Conservation and Rehabilitation Projects for the Old City of Fez," p. 51.

²⁸ "Rehabilitation of the Fez Medina -- Project Summary Document," World Bank, 1998, p. 4

these immense complexities of constructing a World Heritage city, then, it is no wonder why it has proven to be such a challenge for preservationists and why Porter suggests moving beyond the colonial histories of the Medina to focus on more present day tensions.

Accordingly, while it is important to acknowledge the oriental and colonial roots of preservation in Morocco and the Medina of Fez, this project leaves this history behind. Instead, my aim is to analyze the conditions brought forth by this more recent preservation campaign launched by the UNESCO and carried out by the principle actors of both the early and later days of the project, and its effects on the Medina as a specific local space and the memory practices therein. That is, I bracket this larger colonial history and the Disney-ification of Moroccan cities through oversimplified and aestheticized preservation campaigns. My focus, rather, is on how the discourses and practices endemic of the World Heritage program are lived and felt from the ground level in the Medina, both in terms of touristic and locals' perspectives. Before moving on to my analyses, however, in the following sections I provide an overview of the methodological orientation that drives this larger project, along with a literature review and chapter preview.

Method

My analysis of World Heritage place-making and its effects on local spaces, meaning-making, and memory practices will be conducted at three levels. First, I interrogate the primary UNESCO principals and protocols that underpin the World Heritage idea and which conceptually and technically operationalize the heterotopia from the global position (a top-down analysis). Second, through field work I assume the position as an embodied tourist and offer an analysis of the spatializing practices of foreigners moving through local Medina spaces, observing the discursive practices of the Fassi, while also engaging two prototypical preservationist actor types (a bottom-up analysis). Third, I continue my field work and focus on

the Fassi metalsmithing community and their set of memory practices, while conversing with both old and younger generations about the current and future state of heritage preservation and memory in the Medina (an analysis from the other side). As such, the general methodological and conceptual trajectory of this project moves from universal to the particular, beginning from the level of the global institutional, to an on-the-ground spatial analysis, and concluding with a discussion of local practices. What follows is a three-part discussion of how the World Heritage place-making practices constitute a preservationist apparatus that renders heterotopic effects, and how local meaning-making and memory work in the Medina of Fez offers a different understanding of how heritage is preserved.

Heterotopia as a Research Lens: A Dual Reading

Foucault's concept of heterotopia is caught up in a number of tensions through various competing usages across otherwise disparate disciplines. Despite this conceptual diffusion, its academic popularity speaks to the critical intrigue and potential that it carries as a way to think about space. Geographer Peter Johnson recently inaugurated "heterotopian studies" and has been writing to bring these incongruous applications of heterotopia into a single focus for future scholarship.²⁹ He suggests that, following Foucault's own use of space as a research tool, that heterotopia might best serve scholarship as a methodological lens rather than as a means of reifying spaces as essentially heterotopic. As I discuss in my literature review below, the majority of scholarship that focuses on World Heritage preservation tends to focus on the effects of preservation practices on local publics, often with specific attention to either the discourse of preservation or of touristic commoditization of heritage places. While this project will engage both of these topics as well, I respond to Johnsons' call for employing heterotopia as a research lens to offer a different means of reading a World Heritage city. Borrowing and extending

²⁹ Homepage, "Heterotopian studies," 2013. <http://www.heterotopiastudies.com/>.

Foucault's contested concept, then, I use heterotopia as a spatio-mnemonic lens for considering how World Heritage sites are constructed from both a top-down and a bottom-up perspective. This is not a Foucaultian thesis per se, but it does follow his methodological suggestion for using space as a critical tool of analysis to gauge how power is articulated and manipulated in a given discursive scene. For my top-down reading, I incorporate language from UNESCO World Heritage policy into my analyses as a theoretically driven textual analysis, although for the most part this work has already been taken on by those in critical heritage studies. As such, the policies and discourses that I draw from are necessarily selective, focusing particularly on those that give shape to the primary principles and protocols that underpin the World Heritage idea and which serve as impetus for this global place-making campaign.

On the other hand, the bottom-up reading calls for a research position that puts me on the ground in the Medina of Fez. Recent trends in rhetorical studies see rhetoricians engaging in live rhetorical communities through field work and ethnography. Such trends have specifically emerged from critical rhetoric and often include a participatory element of advocacy or activist work in the "twin critique of domination and emancipation."³⁰ However, while I also employ field methods and *in situ* analyses to access the rhetorics at play on ground-level, this embodied and embedded methodological orientation is all that my project shares in common with this other scholarship. Instead of navigating my work through critical rhetoric and its characteristic advocacy or activist work, I instead use field methods in two different ways. First, I employ field methods to gain access to an angle from below in order to understand how space is constructed through touristic spatial practices and discourses. To achieve these ends, I borrow from Michel de Certeau's notion of "pedestrian rhetorics" and argue that, while the primary principles and protocols operationalize the World Heritage heterotopia from the global level, the pedestrian

³⁰ Raymie McKerrow, "Critical rhetoric: Theory and Practice," *Communication Monographs*, (1989), 56: pp. 91 - 111

rhetorics ground it and give it meaning from below. Moreover, I also use my own body as an instrument of research as I move throughout the Medina. That is, since my concern is how the World Heritage idea is constructed and sustained from ground level, the pedestrian rhetorics of touristic spatial practices is of primary concern. I consider how locals interact and relate to these foreign bodies moving through local space, and thus my own white, foreigner body itself induces reactions from the Fassi consistent with most if not all white male visitors that I observed.

While my own positionality as an embodied white male tourist affords me access to a certain set of discourses and reactions from the Fassi, a wide range of other discourses will accordingly be left out of this project. It is difficult to attest to what types of reactions the white female body, the male or female black body, or those many others marked by different ethnicities and races would elicit from the Fassi. In terms of gender alone, a wide range of differences in the discursive experience of a female tourist compared to that of a male tourist, especially in a cultural setting like Morocco where the woman's body is often fully or mostly covered, assuredly would produce very different results. As such, while I cannot escape my own positionality, this project will be limited to the discourses produced by the presence of a white male tourist and will thus be a privileged reading in a sense. It would be rhetorically interesting to compare this study to one conducted by a woman or someone of a different ethnic origin, however, in order to determine the effects of the white male touristic presence versus that of others.

Ultimately, through this privileged, embodied spatial analysis, then, I suggest that this World Heritage city is thus not only constructed through the white male touristic presence per se, but rather is sustained and reinforced in the spaces of interaction between these foreign and local

bodies and the discourses between them. I begin to construct this dual-approach methodological lens in the first chapter (top down), before moving to ground level in the subsequent chapter.

Reading the Other Side of the Heterotopia: Local Memory Practices

My use of field methods also allows me to gain a localized understanding of memory practices. Through conversations and observations, I consider metalsmithing practices in the Medina as a mode of vernacular heritage preservation with the aim of fostering discussion about meaning-making and memory work in this Moroccan context, which may be adapted to future non-Western memory contexts as well. I borrow from past research in the nascent (inter)discipline of critical heritage studies as well as public memory scholarship in rhetorical studies to bolster my claims and add to the discussion. The very idea of transmitting heritage from one generation to another presupposes both a rhetorics and mnemonics at play, and thus this critical theme and discussion will be returned to frequently throughout this project. I draw from scholars in critical heritage studies that have engaged the World Heritage discourse in terms of its power/knowledge effects, on the material privilege of these Western-driven preservation campaigns, and on those who are thinking about and theorizing heritage preservation in non-Western contexts. Structuring my analysis around these texts and basing my analysis in my observations and experiences from the field, this project will offer a reading of what heritage practices look like for the Fassi.

While the complexity of Moroccan culture, the Medina itself, the World Heritage program, and practices of preservation would each require several volumes to be fully understood, this project will necessarily offer a narrow reading. However, my aim is for this limited and selective reading to shed light on larger conditions and the state of heritage

preservation and memory work in the Medina today, and offer a glimpse into a larger field of knowledge, space, and practice.

Literature Review

Above I provided a brief history of preservation in the Medina of Fez during the French protectorate. Despite some traces that may have been left behind from this period, the current heritage preservation campaign in the Medina, as Porter points out, is more shaped by the evolution, influence, and historical trajectory of the World Heritage program. Accordingly, below I first provide a brief account of current literature in critical heritage studies that has engaged the concept of preservation as it has emerged in the Western world. This section serves as a good starting point to enter my analyses in the chapters to come, offering a background on the scholarly dialogues that resonate and inform the main themes of this project.

World Heritage: A Critical History of Exclusions

While heritage preservation as cultural praxis may be as old as early civilization in a more informal sense, the professionalization of such practices is a relatively recent phenomenon. “Until modern times,” David Lowenthal writes, “[h]anding down modes of life and thought to descendants was more a matter of ingrained habit than of deliberate effort... [and] few desired to preserve what was old” instead valuing what was useful. However, he adds, “heritage now reflects not just habit but conscious choice.”³¹ Rodney Harrison, a leader in contemporary critical heritage studies, recently forwarded a genealogy of professional heritage preservation practices through a three-phase framework.³² Emerging roughly 175 years ago in Anglo-Saxon contexts,

³¹ *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 13.

³² Heritage studies found its genesis in the works of Richard Lowenthal, Robert Hewison and Patrick Wright in the mid-1980s. While there have been numerous publications on heritage since that time, the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) only recently held its first biennial international conference in 2012 where it also published its "manifesto" for public viewing, inquiry and critical engagement. For more information, visit the ACHS homepage: <http://archanth.anu.edu.au/heritage-museum-studies/association-critical-heritage-studies>. For a full genealogy of heritage preservation, see Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 42 - 94. I move quickly through this summation, focusing on what is relevant for our larger discussion.

the first phase arose through conceptions of an Enlightenment-era public sphere comprised of archaeologists, anthropologists, art historians, architects, cultural historians, and politicians. Moreover, Harrison contends the professionalization of heritage preservation was the product of late-modernity's memory crisis and its anxieties over change, uncertainty, and nostalgia. This initial phase was defined by concerns over preserving cultural and natural properties against the threat of time and development, and was chiefly concerned with monumental and material heritage.³³ The second phase saw the increased state control of heritage preservation, and favored the role of heritage experts and the institutionalization of defining, standardizing, and cataloguing heritage sites. Defined by a top-down preservation approach, these processes meant to concretize the past paying little mind to local publics concerns over contemporary heritage meanings. The third phase, where we find ourselves today, is the period following the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (the Convention) which inaugurated the World Heritage program and World Heritage List. For Harrison, this constituted a supranational, highly bureaucratized system for nominating, identifying, preserving, and transmitting cultural heritage sites that exhibit "outstanding universal value." This notion of universal value is one of the driving principles of the World Heritage program, and which I will suggest in the following chapter has important implications in terms of how it re-defines space.

In brief, however, the principle of outstanding universal value, put forth by the Convention text, dictates that the cultural heritage sites inscribed on the World Heritage List belong to a "common heritage of humanity." The Convention text established the overall mission of the World Heritage program, delineated the roles and duties of the States Parties that ratified

³³ Harrison asserts that the earliest preservation projects in the Western world were the Chartres Cathedral in France and Yellowstone National Park in the western United States. Ibid, pp. 3 – 10.

the Convention, and established the criteria and procedures of nominating properties to the World Heritage List. As addressed above, these heritage movements and the Convention itself emerged in light of an exclusionary public sphere comprised of heritage experts, politicians, and academics. Heritage experts thus become “legitimate spokespeople for the past..., and [authorized] interpreters of heritage...,” a position and interpretive process that constrains heritage “within objects and sites” that can be “delineated so they can be managed.”³⁴ Moreover, by giving experts the authority to define and demarcate heritage meanings, “local stakeholders and communities” are simultaneously excluded from heritage decision-making over how to manage and categorize their own heritage places.³⁵ Laurajane Smith contends that the very idea of a World Heritage “lies in its own legitimizing assumptions that it *is* universally applicable and that there is, or must be, universal cultural values and expressions.” Moreover, this notion of universality of World Heritage is founded and grounded in “European cultural narratives and values,” often at the expense of other understandings of what constitutes heritage.³⁶ Indeed, Harrison suggests that the principle of “universal value operationalize[s] Western notions of heritage management in the non-Western world, [and argues that]... these can conflict with local practices and living cultural traditions in such countries.”³⁷ As such, the World Heritage claims for universal heritage amounts to a broad, global statement for the legitimacy of World Heritage knowledge claims about heritage meanings and management. Given all of this, I follow these critiques and aim to better understand how these policies, exclusions, and the primary World Heritage principles and protocols are put into practice in the Medina of Fez.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 111.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 110. Similarly, as Laurajane Smith argues, “[e]xpert values and knowledge... often set the agendas or provide the epistemological frameworks that define debates about the meaning and nature of the past and its heritage.” *Uses of Heritage*, p. 50.

³⁶ *Uses of Heritage*, pp. 99 - 100.

³⁷ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 100; cf. Denis Byrne, “Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management,” *History and Archaeology*, 5: pp. 269 - 276.

The Material Privilege of Heritage Preservation

Along these lines, an important theme that will also run throughout this thesis project is with regard to the material privilege of heritage preservation that many have observed within the World Heritage program. Indeed, the Western dominated conception of heritage value has always favored the monumental and material over the intangible and practiced. As Smith writes, “[h]eritage... has power as a legitimizing or de-legitimizing discourse... The power rests within the naturalization of heritage as material object” brought forth by the Western focus on preserving monumental and material heritage sites. Harrison points out that the privileging of the materiality of heritage was even written into the Convention text in its definition of what constitutes heritage. In the Convention, “cultural heritage” is classified as either “monuments,” “groups of buildings,” or “sites” that exhibit universal value. This is premised on an assumption that “all humans necessarily share an interest in the physical aspect of the past as ‘heritage,’ ...” and that only “certain types” of physical heritage entities are worthy of preservation.³⁸

Lowenthal asserts that this notion allows for those who control heritage to “cling to remnants of stability” and to have clearly demarcated physical symbols of the past. “A mounting legacy of the protected sites and objects links us with the past... [and t]hus the accretion of archives has multiplied holdings a thousandfold with decades.”³⁹ Obsessed with defining and controlling the physical and material statements of heritage meanings, the World Heritage program did not even recognize *intangible* heritage practices until 2003 under the “intangible cultural heritage” category.⁴⁰ Given that the dominant understanding of what constitutes heritage

³⁸ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 62 - 64.

³⁹ *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 6 - 10.

⁴⁰ As UNESCO notes “[t]he term ‘cultural heritage’ has changed content considerably in recent decades, partially owing to the instruments developed by UNESCO. Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.” “What is intangible cultural heritage?” UNESCO,

in non-Western contexts is more in line with the intangible dimensions of heritage, this is a notable omission that still lingers today in World Heritage protocols.⁴¹ Smith argues that this privileging of the material, often at the expense of the immaterial, has damaging effects on those who do not identify with the monumental or place-based conceptions of heritage meanings. As such, she suggests that we need to begin consider “all heritage as inherently intangible” and begin to think about what preservation might entail in non-Western contexts.⁴² Harrison similarly calls for a re-thinking of heritage that accommodates understandings of heritage that moves away from the World Heritage program’s material focus, and instead attends to the processes of heritage.⁴³ I return to both of these notions in more detail below. Given the above, however, this thesis project will consider the effects of the material privilege of heritage constitutive of the World Heritage program that has also dominated the Medina of Fez preservation campaign. The focus on the materiality of heritage, I argue, is a means of arresting time and re-shaping space over anxieties concerning loss and decay. Moreover, the practices, principles, and protocols endemic of the preservation of material heritage contributes to the formation of a World Heritage heterotopia and which impacts local memory practices. In Chapter 3, I will also take up Smith and Harrison’s call for focusing on intangible heritage practices as I engage the metalsmithing community in the Medina. In this effort, my goal is to advance a conception of heritage preservation that, although inclusive of material places and objects, is not bound to them, and is instead constituted by a circuitous relation between a network of people, places, kinesthetic practices, affects, senses, and things.

<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00002>. For notes on the first roundtable toward defining intangible heritage, see “International roundtable: Intangible cultural heritage, working definitions,” UNESCO, 2001, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&meeting_id=00057

⁴¹ As I will discuss later in the thesis, Harrison notes how the addition of intangible heritage to the World Heritage List does not represent a substantial re-definition of heritage, but rather merely sets up a dichotomy between material and immaterial heritage meanings. This accordingly amounts to just a change in policy alone, rather than a re-shifting of the boundaries of what heritage means outside the Western world. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 112 – 126.

⁴² *Uses of Heritage*, pp. 307 - 308.

⁴³ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 222 - 226.

Intangible Heritage: A Contested Category, a Rhetorical Practice

The final section of this project will focus on intangible heritage practices in the Medina. And while the UNESCO has officially recognized "intangible cultural heritage" as a category on the World Heritage List, this expansion of what is worthy of preservation has not come without its own set of critiques. As others have noted, the World Heritage program privileges the materiality of heritage for inscription on the List. Despite the new category to include the intangible alongside the material, as Smith points out, this concept has been contested by many in the West and has fallen short in terms of the World Heritage program effectively adapting to such divergent preservation practices. After the intangible cultural heritage category was added to the World Heritage List, many major UNESCO players abstained from recognizing its legitimacy. These Western State Parties include Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and the United States. "The UK has no intangible heritage," one government employee was quoted as saying, a sentiment that speaks for each of these Western nations.⁴⁴ For Smith, "the emphasis on materiality, and the experiences it represents, is fundamentally different from a sense of heritage as oral tradition, skills, and knowledge... Underlying the notion of monumentality is the idea of its universal applicability, that is has a universal audience... [and that] monuments are identified as representing... or 'being', the pinnacle of human achievement." That is, monumental heritage offers a clear and highly visual symbol that encodes the World Heritage idea and broadcasts it through its relative material stability. The construction of such universal symbols through material focused preservation campaigns, such as the one ongoing in the Medina, will be a major focus of this project, especially with how they are sustained through tourists' spatial practices.

⁴⁴ "Emma Waterton, University of York, quoted this assertion in an interview with government employees," quoted in *Uses of Heritage*, note 1, chapter 3.

On the other hand, intangible heritage practices are unable to be so easily promulgated as universal in value given their essential immaterial character. They are only valued and applicable to "much smaller audiences as intimate performances of cultural continuity and identity creation."⁴⁵ Moreover, when such practices *have* been taken into consideration and targeted in preservation campaigns, critics argue that they have been approached with the same aims and protocols utilized in preserving the monumental. That is, instead of attending to the preservation of practices to allow for their fluidity, they have been approached with the aims of arresting decay and saving from loss. As such, intangible practices risk becoming mere carapace; empty shells lifeless on the inside and unable to adapt to growth or change.⁴⁶ As Lowenthal contends, "[t]he marginalized are most apt to demote material legacies... Heritage to them is more likely to mean folkways (faiths, foods, forms of music and dance) than fabric, performance more than product... That heritage can be sustained only by a living community becomes an accepted tenant."⁴⁷ Such practices function rhetorically to sustain heritage meanings, cultural continuity, and foment identity creation. When they are threatened with fossilization through World Heritage stewardship, or when the monumental is privileged at the expense of the intangible, such mishandlings and omissions endanger this important meaning-making and memory work. This project follows these criticisms and considers the effects of the material privilege of the heritage preservation campaign in the Medina on Fassi's intangible heritage practices and the identity work they afford. That heritage production is a cultural process of meaning-making and memory transmission renders such practices as especially fitting for a rhetorical re-figuring.

Memory Practices and Heritage Production/Preservation

⁴⁵ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 109.

⁴⁶ Smith suggests that this presupposes that the guiding logic of Western preservationists about the "management and protection [of heritage] is indeed about, and should be about, fossilization..." Ibid, p. 112.

⁴⁷ *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 21.

As Kendall Phillips and Mitchell Reyes note, there is a "strong connection" between memory and rhetoric. For them, "our experience of the past is framed so heavily by collective social structures as to make each instance of remembrance... an essentially rhetorical act."⁴⁸ The study of memory in rhetorical studies tends to focus on the sites of commemoration and commemorative practices, although the idea of heritage is rarely, if ever, addressed. Similarly, in critical heritage studies the dominant focus is on how heritage sites are inscribed with narratives that reflect national agendas, whereas memory is often set aside as a secondary conversation. Moreover, the rhetorical dimensions of heritage production and preservation are completely left off of the table for those in this emergent discipline. In considering alternative forms of heritage preservation that move beyond the material privilege endemic of the World Heritage program, I aim to connect these scholarly conversations and consider the rhetorical processes of memory work as a mode of heritage production *and* preservation. That is, I suggest that the active production of heritage in itself constitutes a an act of preservation, and which thus pre-supposes that both a rhetorics and mnemonics are at play. To these ends, Roger Aden et al.'s suggestion that "memory studies can be enriched and enhanced by exploring *processes of remembering within places* through the integrative unit of analysis *persons-with/in-places*" is especially fitting.⁴⁹ Drawing from Zelizer's notion of "re-collection" as a "processional action" and that such "ongoing processes of remembering generate different memories," they offer an approach to the study of memory and re-collection that resonates with recent discussions in critical heritage studies. For Aden et al, they view "re-collection as a reciprocal and interrelated interaction" that takes place between people, places, and the emplaced contexts of remembrance. Drawing on Michael McGee's notion of discursive fragments:

⁴⁸ *Global Memoryscapes*, 2011, p. 1.

⁴⁹ "A proposal for refining the study of collective memory," *Communication Theory*, 2009, p. 313.

"In particular, [Aden et al.] propose that re-collection is an ongoing process of organizing... discursive fragments of memory into coherent bodies of meaning. The organization, or re-collection, of these fragments is by no means a linear process. Instead, it occurs within the intersection of texts, contexts, and individuals—and throughout their ongoing circulation within and among different groups."⁵⁰

While I leave their borrowing of McGee behind given the focus on cultural fragments as "texts," I do re-employ this notion of "ongoing circulation" and the *processes* of such memory work.

Their proposal also bares many similarities with recent trends in critical heritage studies. Indeed, Harrison suggests that heritage preservation should be re-considered as an "emergent, contingent, and creative endeavor" that occurs between "people, objects, places, and practices."⁵¹ Similarly, Smith also recognizes the relation between people, places, and practices in proffering the essential intangible nature of heritage. For her, "Heritage... is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are tools that can facilitate... this process."⁵² The resonances between the two conversations are quite profound. As such, I aim to capitalize on this interrelationship through advancing the concept of "memory circuits" as a mode of heritage production/preservation. By memory circuits, I mean the fluid and interanimative relation between heterogeneous elements of a given memory practice-in-place that foster and sustain meanings and identities. Engaging the metalsmithing practices in the Medina of Fez, then, I identify the circuitous interrelationship between the range of people, places, kinesthetic practices, senses, affects, objects, and experiences that constitute the meaning-making and memory work endemic of metalsmithing as a heritage practice. Necessarily intangible, I consider the rhetorical and educative dimensions of this mode of heritage production/preservation, and how these

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 314 - 315.

⁵¹ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 222.

⁵² *Uses of Heritage*, p. 44.

practices and the meaning and identities they afford are affected today by the preservation campaign.

Chapters Overview

The first chapter will provide a theoretical framing for the remainder of the project through borrowing and extending Foucault's concept of heterotopia. I follow Johnson's suggestion that heterotopia should be used as a research lens as I engage the primary principles and protocols of World Heritage place-making. I suggest that these preservationist campaigns render heterotopic effects that re-figure the spatial, temporal, and mnemonic boundaries and conditions of cultural sites. Along these lines, I contend that the World Heritage discourses, practices, and knowledge claims constitute a discursive formation and give way to a preservationist apparatus that operates on and through the Medina. Drawing from Foucault, Pierre Nora, and critical heritage studies' literature, I use the heteropic frame to consider the effects of when World Heritage preservation campaigns clash with sites of living memory. After constructing my methodological frame, I then turn to the Medina of Fez, Morocco as an introductory case study that will continue to develop through two subsequent chapters. I provide a background and brief analysis of the many problems that preservationists faced in constructing the Medina as a World Heritage site. Critically engaging a selection of institutional policies, reports, and reviews that range from the early to later days of this Moroccan heritage preservation campaign, this final section of chapter one will set the stage for my work on the ground in the Medina. Overall, chapter one is intended to provide a broad theoretical framing for how I approach space, heritage preservation, memory, and the Medina throughout the rest of this larger project. It offers a top-down analysis of how World Heritage place-making renders heterotopic effects.

Chapter two moves to ground level in the Medina to provide a bottom-up analysis of World Heritage heterotopic construction. In conducting my field work, I assume the position as an embodied tourist and offer an analysis of the spatializing practices of foreign bodies moving through local Medina spaces. I also interact with and observe the discursive practices of the Fassi in relation to tourists. My position as a white male foreigner in local space automatically predisposes me to be perceived as a tourist, and thus I embrace this position and aim to experience how the white foreign body affects and is affected by the spatial and discursive landscape. I find that the foreign privileged body elicits the World Heritage discourse in spaces of interaction with the Fassi, which in turn upholds the heterotopic construction on the local level. While locals thus contribute to this construction, I contend that, drawing on de Certeau, such discourses are in fact merely practices of "making do" and exploiting the touristic presence for economic and material gain. Moreover, drawing on de Certeau's notion of pedestrian rhetorics and how spaces are given meaning through spatial practices, I suggest that the touristic practices of touring the Medina *ground* the heterotopia and give it meaning through such movements. In this sense, as an embodied tourist, I am thus a co-participant in this heterotopic construction and in upholding the World Heritage dynamic of the Medina as well. In addition, I also engage two prototypical preservationist actor types to explicate the material focus of preservation campaigns, while drawing on previous literature that also critiques the material privilege of World Heritage preservation. While chapter one offers a top-down, broader reading of how World Heritage place-making renders heterotopic effects, chapter two aims to show how the heterotopia is given meaning on the local level through bodies, discourses, material forms, spaces, and spatial practices.

In the penultimate chapter I move to the "other side" of the heterotopia and engage the socially homogeneous community of living memory in the Medina.⁵³ The Medina of Fez is home to one of the oldest ongoing metalsmithing traditions in the world. As a nearly 1,200-year-old heritage practice central to Fassi identity, its memory and meaning-making work, I will argue, is cultivated and sustained through "memory circuits." In this context, I define memory circuits as the fluid and mutually interanimative relations between kinesthetic, sonic, communicative, and emplaced dimensions of a given memory practice. Cultural meanings are made and identity sustained within and through the intangible spaces between these circuitous relations. Memory circuits, I will argue, serve as a mode of heritage production and, when operative, heritage preservation. Through engaging in conversations with both old and younger generations, I find that the individual elements that constitute these metalsmithing memory circuits are deemed unstable by metal workers today. A prevailing sense of living nostalgia and fear of forgetting exists among both generational groups. Although the heritage practices as well as the communities in the Medina are multiple, the focus on metalsmithing only offers a glimpse into the broader heritage scene therein. However, it might provide a window or glimpse that could also be applied to how these other practices stand today as well. This chapter argues that such memory practices are essentially rhetorical and pedagogical, and require a relative degree of stability between the elements of these circuits to be sustainable as an identity resource and mode of preservation. I suggest that the removal or alteration of any element from this mnemonic process threatens to render such meaning and identity work to be irrecoverably damaged—if not forgotten altogether. While chapters one and two provide a dual analysis of how a World

⁵³ By "socially homogeneous," I do not mean that the Fassi people represent a single ethnic background. To be sure, just like any city, the people come from a diversity of backgrounds. Rather, I mean that the city itself is homogeneous with Morocco on the whole (i.e. *not* disembedded).

Heritage heterotopia is constructed from above and below, this chapter focuses on the effects of this heterotopic rendering on a living memory community therein.

Ultimately, this project aims to contribute a multi-dimensional rhetorical approach to understanding World Heritage place-making, how such spaces are constructed from both above and below, and to offer a different approach to understanding heritage preservation in non-Western contexts. Scholars interested in heritage studies, public memory scholarship, space and place, and power/knowledge should find the discussions and analyses that follow to be of interest. Necessarily a selective analysis given this project's limitations, it will aim to provide a window into broader discussions and areas of thought. Overall, through extending the concept of heterotopia as a spatio-mnemonic lens and borrowing from Michel de Certeau's poetics of space, this project offers a heuristic for approaching how a World Heritage city is constructed and can be read. It also makes initial efforts to bring together rhetorical studies' approach to public and cultural memory with dialogues in critical heritage studies. While the claims made in this thesis may only be applicable to the construction of the Medina of Fez as a World Heritage city, this project could at very least contribute to a different approach to such constructions that could be carried out elsewhere.

Chapter 2

The Top-Down Construction of a Heterotopia: World Heritage Principles & Protocols as an Apparatus

The UNESCO World Heritage program arose in response to an underlining anxiety that the rapid progression of time and modern development were swallowing sites and places of memory. This "acceleration," in Pierre Nora's terms, points to "an increasingly rapid slippage of the present into a historical past that is gone for good, a general perception that anything and everything may disappear."⁵⁴ A concept of heritage thus emerged as a "list of places... at risk that needed to be protected" against this temporal threat, a "'class' of 'place' which should be set apart from the everyday" and managed by heritage "experts," e.g. architects, archaeologists, engineers, museum professionals, others. Moreover, heritage became conceived as belonging chiefly to the past and "defined in opposition to the present"—that is, something to be catalogued and "preserved." Its management and protection was taken as a professional activity that was outside the purview of local actors' practices and understandings.⁵⁵ Marked by an acceleration in global heritage tourism (the "heritage boom"), the increased bureaucratization and professionalization of preservation practices, and a series of technological shifts that re-structured the way in which people engaged and communicated with the world, heritage today has become "an all-pervasive industry in contemporary global societies."⁵⁶ Constituting an unprecedented and ambitious international place-making campaign, then, the driving principles and protocols that underpin this endeavor will be this chapter's focus.

Drawing from scholars in the nascent (inter)discipline of critical heritage studies and looking to literature in public memory scholarship, I suggest that the various mechanisms

⁵⁴ "Between memory and history," *Representations*, 26 (1989), p. 7.

⁵⁵ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 46 - 56.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 63 - 69.

structured around this concept of "heritage" fosters a preservationist apparatus. Taken together, these mechanisms include the discourses, knowledge-claims, protocols, experts, preservationist practices, policies, and other World Heritage technologies that attach themselves to places and thus re-define them in the process. This preservationist apparatus disembeds cultural heritage sites from their usual temporal and spatial order, while also inscribing them with a set of logics that reflect all other World Heritage sites across a global heritage network. To this end, I borrow and extend Michel Foucault's notion of *heterotopia* as a conceptual lens for making sense of this spatio-temporal re-figuration.⁵⁷ As suggested in the introduction, the notion of heterotopia does not come without its own baggage, however. Previous conceptual applications of heterotopia are broad and diverse, including nearly every type of possible site, from gated communities in South African security parks, to the Buddhist site of Swayambhu in Kathmandu Valley, underground bandrooms in Hong Kong, cemeteries, amusement parks, cultural festivals, and more.⁵⁸ Peter Johnson has pointed out that this over-application of heterotopia, without a more concrete conceptual grounding, endangers rendering the contested concept worthless altogether. He identifies a set of patterns among these disparate applications and derives a critical orientation to the common defining characteristics of the various takes on heterotopia. While most previous uses of heterotopia tend to exclusively focus on such sites as merely being *temporal discontinuous* and *spatially disembedded*, Johnson advances an understanding of the concept as a site which is simultaneously "socially homogenous *and* a break from normality."⁵⁹ Not totally static and disembedded as critics often contend, but rather both temporally ingrained and spatially coherent within its geo-cultural order, while *also* removed as a space of the other, an "other space." That is, heterotopic sites are still homogenous places that indeed exist in real time,

⁵⁷ "Of other spaces," *Diacritics*, 16 (1986): pp. 22 - 27 .

⁵⁸ Peter Johnson, "Interpretations of heterotopias," *Heterotopian Studies* (2012), <http://www.heterotopiastudies.com/>.

⁵⁹ "Interpretations of heterotopia," p. 8.

but can be conceived as a break when considered as a *relational space* (an "actually existing utopia)" which both reflects and bears the traces of all other similar "other" spaces. For him, this "double logic" is the key that will open up the concept of heterotopia, although it has yet to be effectively fleshed out or even fully addressed.⁶⁰ Accordingly, this project, among other things, is an uptake of Foucault's concept and also a response to Johnson's call.

Indeed, Johnson suggests that the concept of heterotopia should be used as a methodological tool to investigate such spatial arrangements. As he notes, "in a sense heterotopias do not exist, except in relation to other spaces. Heterotopia is more about a point of view, or a method of using space as a tool of analysis." While his point lacks explication, I utilize heterotopia as a lens to consider how applications of the preservationist apparatus transforms cultural heritage cities into World Heritage sites. As Foucault states, "to decipher discourse through the use of spatial, strategic metaphors [such as heterotopia] enables one to grasp precisely the points at which discourses are transformed in, through, and on the basis of power relations."⁶¹ Elsewhere he states, "To trace the forms of implantation, delimitation, and demarcation of objects, the modes of tabulation, the organization of domains mean[s] the throwing into relief of processes... of power. The spatializing description [sic] of discursive realities gives on to the analysis of related effects of power."⁶² Given the above, using heterotopia as a spatial analytic lens thus requires coupling Foucault's methodological suggestion with Johnson's notion concerning the contradictory logic of heterotopia. That is, exploring such spaces as simultaneously socially homogeneous *and* a temporal and spatial break from reality, and considering the technologies that construct them. I suggest that understanding a heterotopia's discursive constitution, spatial delimitation, and temporal demarcation affords a potential mode

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "Questions on geography," p. 177.

⁶² Ibid, p. 178.

of considering how World Heritage sites are constructed and sustained from top down. Rather than reifying World Heritage sites as heterotopias, I instead tease out the nuances that resonate with Foucault's concept to shed light on World Heritage place-making processes. As this discussion develops, heterotopia will be used as a lens for considering the impact of when a heritage preservation campaign clashes with a community of living memory.

In all, this chapter aims to explicate the World Heritage program's claim for and application of the principle of "universal value," meta-narrative of "unity in diversity," and primary set of preservation protocols used to demarcate World Heritage sites.⁶³ The global application of these principles and preservation protocols, I argue, constitutes a preservationist apparatus that renders heterotopic effects. While this section is a bit technical at points, these details are essential to understanding how World Heritage heterotopias manifest from the top-down. Next, in developing this Foucaultian spatio-temporal lens, I engage the rhetorical dimensions of World Heritage place-making through a discussion of clashes between heritage preservation and living memories. Finally, I begin applying this initiatory analysis to the institutional level processes involved in the early days of constructing the Medina of Fez as a World Heritage site.

Protocols of Place-Making

While scholars in critical heritage studies suggest that the World Heritage program emerged through an anxiety over time, Foucault may have offered a different reading altogether. For Foucault, as opposed to a time-based fear driving such preservationist campaigns, he asserts that "the anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space, no doubt a great deal more than

⁶³ The artifacts that I have chosen for this analysis are representative of the major changes or stages in the Medina restoration/preservation campaign, along with those UNESCO World Heritage policies that will help to contextualize the practices and discourses surrounding this particular campaign.

with time. Time probably appears to us only as one of the various distributive operations that are possible for the elements that are spread out in space."⁶⁴ Following Foucault, a concern over space, then, would push the World Heritage preservation movement to collect nearly 1000 cultural sites across 160 States Parties and to re-contextual them as representative of a global "heritage" in need of preservation. Of course, the temporal element still persists as a feature within space, but it is more exclusively the concern over the latter, the destructive transformation of space resultant of modernization, that the World Heritage program seeks to control and ultimately arrest in this global preservation campaign.

As already stated, the World Heritage program's conception of a heritage place is that which is "set aside from the everyday" and defined "in opposition to the present." These two chief characteristics of a World Heritage site conceptually delineate its spatial and temporal dimensions within the framework of the principle of "outstanding universal value." Demarcating the discursive boundaries of how such sites are meant to be conceived within global public imagination, this principle underpins the preservationist apparatus, justifies that such universal heritage sites need to be preserved, and gives new meanings to local cultural places as places of global heritage. As UNESCO defines it in the Convention:

The cultural and natural heritage is among the priceless and irreplaceable assets, not only of each nation, but of humanity as a whole. The loss, through deterioration or disappearance, of any of these most prized assets constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples of the world. Parts of that heritage, because of their exceptional qualities, can be considered to be of "Outstanding Universal Value" and as such worthy of special protection against the dangers which increasingly threaten them. *Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.* As such, the permanent protection of this

⁶⁴ This is not to fully discount time as a factor in place of space, but rather to reverse the discourse from a time-centric anxiety with space as a tertiary or secondary concern to a focus on space instead. "Of other spaces," p. 23.

heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole.⁶⁵

Following this logic, such sites that exhibit this universal quality and are inscribed on the World Heritage List become symbolically and materially owned and protected by the global community, transcending local borders. "What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application," UNESCO states. "World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located."⁶⁶ That is, such universal heritage sites no longer *merely* represent a distinct national or regional heritage for a geographically and historically contingent public. Rather, re-framed as a heritage belonging to all humankind, they take on a new significance as a common symbol within a new world order.

The guiding logic that drives the World Heritage program is that this place-making campaign centered on preserving heritage will foster a global community where diverse cultures will come together in a common mission. This is the basic meaning of the UNESCO meta-narrative "unity in diversity." It functions as a claim that seeks to totalize divisive cultural differences through rhetorical unification in order to promote "peace in the minds of men." That is, the meta-narrative of "unity in diversity" is a principled, rhetorical effort to furnish a community of recognition of the multifarious other. As Michael Di Giovine notes, this "project of tangibly totalizing differences... is not merely translating a cacophony of seemingly chaotic and unintelligible forms into one group's cultural language, but integrating it into an ever-deepening, over-arching structure... that gains materiality through these material monumental media."⁶⁷ An ambitious place-making campaign renders the conditions for this universal community with the goal of moving beyond divisive, sometimes violent, contention over

⁶⁵ Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, (Paris: World Heritage Center, 2013, emphasis mine).

⁶⁶ About World Heritage, UNESCO.org, Accessed October 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

⁶⁷ *The Heritage-scape*, 2011, pp. 35 - 36.

disagreements on heritage values. Global and totalizing in focus and intent, this claim "allows localities to be transformed into World Heritage sites through a museological process whereby the monument [city, artifact, etc.] is isolated from its original context and re-contextualized..." as universally owned.⁶⁸ Through a "ritualized" set of institutionalized practices and guiding preservationist articulations, local places are taken up as constitutive nodes within this expansive network. This museological, ritualized process of branding these places is driven by the policies and protocols written into the Convention text. As I explicated in the introduction, the Convention text dictates the processes and protocols for how to identify, nominate, categorize, restore, preserve, and transmit sites of universal value. Immense in its detail and bureaucratic form, the guidelines are meant "to ensure, as far as possible, the proper identification, protection, conservation, and presentation of the world's heritage." The guidelines spell out in fine detail the policies and protocols that make up the preservationist apparatus. While only a sample, these include procedures that States Parties must follow for the "identification," "justification," and "nomination" of a site to the List; the "legislative, regulatory and contractual measures [recommended] for protection"; classificatory criteria for identifying a site of universal value; "proper usage" and processes of "authorizing" use of the World Heritage emblem" and what it represents; best practices for drawing "boundaries for effective protection" and procedures for "sustainable use"; protocols for "evaluating," "inscribing," and "deferring" nominations; processes for "monitoring," "periodic reporting on," and for effectively "raising awareness" about heritage sites; among many others. It is through the implementation and application of these policies, protocols, and guidelines that a cultural site becomes a World Heritage site. Failure to adhere, to properly "implement," or to effectively "manage" inscribed sites can lead to de-listing. That is, "[w]hen the Outstanding Universal Value of the property which justified its

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 11.

inscription on the World Heritage List is destroyed, the Committee considers deleting the property from the World Heritage List."⁶⁹ In other words, without complete submission, there is no admission. The unwillingness to comply with the Convention text and to allow for the preservationist apparatus to transform a local cultural place into a World Heritage site in effect erases the universal value of the property. This immense and highly professionalized process of identification, nomination, inscription, and management is carried out at each of the nearly 1000 heritage sites throughout the world, constituting the conditions of possibility for such cities to manifest as another "node" in the World Heritage network. Before inscription on the List, cultural heritage sites are disparate and diverse in their original, contingent, and localized heritage value. Through the application of these transformative institutional protocols and re-defined within the discourse of the guiding principles, however, they become imbued and re-shaped by the mechanisms of this mnemonic re-branding.

Bearing the silent markings of this preservationist apparatus renders once localized heritage cities to be removed from their distinctly contingent context. Joining the World Heritage network thus functions as a spatio-rhetorical process that sets them apart from the everyday, disembedded from their geo-contingent order. This space-based argument shifts these places to become universally mediated and "preserved." As such, World Heritage sites can rightly be taken as heterotopic in such re-contextualized dimensions. Once inscribed on the World Heritage List, strict regulations delineate these sites as no-construction zones, disallowing any material alterations without UNESCO approval. Here, they are heterotopic in the sense that they are organized and preserved as a "perpetual accumulation of time in an immobile place."⁷⁰ Such *preserved spaces* are not entirely disembedded, not entirely static as such given that they still

⁶⁹ Operational Guidelines, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Foucault, "Of other spaces," p. 26.

belong to living communities who are living in real time.⁷¹ However, while still homogeneous in this sense, their re-branding constitutes a destabilization from this contingent and living context, re-placing them through universal re-definition and global institutionalization. Such processes "create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled." World Heritage heterotopias, then, are "singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others."⁷² The "different function" of heritage sites, of course, is that these places are set apart through processes of "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission [for] future generations of cultural and natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value."⁷³ Truly homogenous communities or cities build, move forward, and allow for modern development, while often concomitantly deteriorating through degentrification somewhere on the outskirts of progress. World Heritage sites, on the other hand, are meticulously constructed to arrest such decay and erasure, and preservation serves as a bulwark against the *ravishes* of spatial progress and modern development. Heterotopic in nature, preserving a heritage site outside its localized and fluid spatial distribution engenders a temporal freeze. No longer can these cities build and move forward, and no sooner will they fall to pieces, instead put on display for a global audience.

Local cultural sites undergo a museological process that transform and re-contextualize them as a constituent node within the World Heritage network. At the same time, given their disembedded temporo-spatial conceptual status and since they now belong to a global public, they also take on a characteristic of museumification, or what Rodney Harrison refers to as *heritagization*. This process also lends to the construction of World Heritage sites as heteropic in

⁷¹ I return to this below.

⁷² Michel Foucault, "Space, power, knowledge," pp. 27 - 29.

⁷³ Operational Guidelines, p. 2.

nature. Global tourism accounts for over 10% of the world GDP and World Heritage sites are often a target destination for this international public.⁷⁴ Indeed, as the Convention text states, one of the benefits of nominating sites to the List include "an increase in public awareness of the site and of its outstanding values, thus also increasing the tourist activities at the site. When these are well planned for and organized respecting sustainable tourism principles, they can bring important funds to the site and to the local economy."⁷⁵ That is, the World Heritage emblem functions rhetorically as a symbolic representation and global marker of a *place of visitability*. Its suasive character appeals to both individual nation states for its economic lure, as well as global tourists as a future travel destination.⁷⁶ "Heritagization," for Harrison, borrowing a term from Kevin Walsh, "is the process by which objects and places are transformed from functional 'things' into objects of display and exhibition."⁷⁷ Heritage sites are thus fashioned rhetorically to distinguish themselves from the everyday and to stand frozen in the world moving around them. In themselves they proffer a discourse inviting visitation and touring. A material and mnemonic argument reinforced by the sheer number of nodes in the World Heritage network, and always protected under the common symbol of the emblem.

Heritagization is not just a matter of building a sustainable tourist infrastructure around and within heritage sites.⁷⁸ Instead, it is a process carried by the museological practices employed to restore a heritage site and its constituent elements back to their "authentic," original

⁷⁴ Arthur Pedersen, *Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites: a Practical Manual for World Heritage Site Managers* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Center, 2002), p. 5.

⁷⁵ "The World Heritage Convention," UNESCO.org. Accessed November 25, 2013. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>.

⁷⁶ Indeed, the economic lure of heritage tourism rhetorically intensifies the universal heritage ideal, making the World Heritage program that much more attractive to individual nation states at the expense of local publics. As Harrison points out, the "World Heritage Emblem... has become a global brand..." which serves as a "guarantee of a site's value as a visitable destination." This is especially poignant for developing and third-world countries of struggling economies and immense poverty, whose governments desperately seek to buy into the brand by ratifying the Convention. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 89.

⁷⁷ Harrison, 2013, p. 69.

⁷⁸ Of course, this is also an important point and defining characteristic of World Heritage sites. And while it outside the purvey of this present discussion, I return to it later in this chapter and throughout the remainder of the thesis in various discussions and contexts.

state. As part of this process, preservation experts are charged with the task of re-building and restoring damaged, dilapidated, or otherwise mistreated monuments, artifacts, and façades. Not only mere restoration however, but one that requires using similar if not exact materials and methods that were used in the original construction and design. This aesthetic restoration is not *merely* aesthetic either. It is a process intended to bring the past back into existence, erasing traces of decay and the passage of time, and thus re-contextualizing what is past and gone as being present in a temporo-spatial dimension *in vacuo*. The re-contextualizing restoration practices no longer constitutes just a process of preservation then, for one cannot preserve what no longer exists. On the other hand, it is a rhetorical re-construction that shifts the boundaries of time through spatial and material re-constitution. In turn, this is another process that lends itself to the formation of a World Heritage heterotopia. This museological process of heritagization takes place, at least to some degree, *at all heritage sites*. A dilapidated building becomes new again; a slouching statue again regains its composure; a crumbling monument is re-made to its original state--all restored using the proper materials and techniques from the time. As such, these re-constructed monuments and artifacts become the material witnesses of the preservationist apparatus, arresting all evidence of the violence of time and decay of space.

Imbuing the World Heritage rationality into interstices of everyday life within these once local cities, restorative, preservationist practices and the institutional discourse that dictate and guide them inscribe heritage sites with an underlying, yet barely legible similitude. Each site mirrors back all others across the broader global network, while also reflecting the homogenous culture in which it remains embedded. Indeed, a heterotopia is like a mirror, Foucault writes, because "it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since

in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there." ⁷⁹ In this sense, the World Heritage site only exists in its interconnected relation to all other World Heritage sites, and it thus only exists as a reflection—a concept place and yet an “actually existing utopia”—but which is still in fact real in material form and all its intricacies dictated by the preservationist apparatus. In relation to the mirror, then, the cultural city prior to be inscribed on the World Heritage list, or as it exists outside the World Heritage narrative in its homogeneous form, is the place that exists outside the mirror (from where the viewer is actually standing); it is the actually existing place that does not require the deep plane of the mirror for its existence. Foucault does not acknowledge the spectator looking at the image in the mirror in his conception of the heterotopia, but without those looking in the heterotopia could never exist at all. Thus, the conditional feature for any heterotopia is the existence of a subject to not only stand in the room (socially homogenous space), but also to look into the mirror and see the reflected depths (actually existing utopia). As such, and this may be essential for the concept of heterotopia, a World Heritage site can only exist because of its imagined relation to all other World Heritage sites; socially homogenous, it is always already a place in its own space and time, but it becomes disembedded by the very fact that it is now a part of a much broader network of similarly articulated "other spaces." A World Heritage site both exists with all its fine details and curated material forms, exists so that one may pass through it and experience it as such, but which is only as deep as the reflection.

As such, World Heritage sites are indeed heterotopic at both the conceptual level and the technical level. As for the former, these sites are spatially disembedded and temporally discontinuous as a result of the meta-narrative claims for being united to all other sites across the

⁷⁹ "Of other spaces," p. 4.

network, framed by the principle of universal value, and globally imagined. On the technical level, the institutional policies and protocols, and the museological processes of restoring the material past re-contextualizes the spatial and temporal frame of these sites. Together, disembedding them from their local, contingent normalcy and freezing them in a constant present past, they are always already available for touring. Indeed, these sites become caught up in the global touristic network through heritagization that fosters a culture on display, and thus they reflect all other sites through this status association as well.

To all of these ends, World Heritage sites embody each of the defining characteristics Johnson identifies in Foucault's otherwise contested concept, and are thus heterotopias *par excellence*. Moreover, as Michael Di Giovine notes, "World Heritage sites are places, but they are *made* places... imbued with global meaning through UNESCO's designation. They are part of a unique global order... that form the nodes on a newly ordered heritage landscape that exists above and beyond the world's traditional boundaries... *Though inexorably bound to the local*."⁸⁰ This essential localness of heritage places, counterpoised by its disembeddedness, fulfills the final category of Johnson's re-reading of heterotopia as a place that is both socially homogenous and a break from normalcy.

Clashing Spaces: Preserved Heritage & Living Memories

Nascent tensions exist between these two dimensions of a World Heritage heterotopia. At the axis of the disembedded and social homogenous—preserved heritage versus living memory—a symbolic battle wages on over meaning-making and memory claims. While heritage is something to be restored, preserved, and transmitted for all humankind, these sites are often still a distinct and significant part of a living memory community. As I have suggested, the

⁸⁰ Michael Di Giovine, *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage and Tourism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 70, emphasis added.

former is caught up and presented as frozen in time and "on display" for the touristic other; heritage is that which is passive and needs to be managed. The latter, on the other hand, is always already fluid, multi-modal, and requiring public engagement and interaction; memories need to move. Counterpoised against preserved heritage under the above heterotopic conditions, "[m]emory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present....," Nora writes, "Insofar as it is affective and magical, [memory] only accommodates those facts that suit it."⁸¹ Memory is an act of *now*, then, selective and deflective, and although fleeting and unstable, is still for a people fixed and binding as a *condition* of its characteristic fluidity. Static symbols and frozen temporal frames obfuscates the meanings that require mobile circulation and which present-tense culture draws from to inform identities.

Memory is chiefly tied to identity construction, both for individuals as well as for local communities. Engaging in the discourses and practices of memory means that memory is both fostered by such discursive, circulatory, and performative acts, while simultaneously feeding back and shaping identity in the process. "This sense of memory highlights the extent to which these constituted and constituting memories are open to contest, revision, and rejection," writes Kendall Phillips. "Thus, in a very real sense, to speak of memory in this way is to speak of a highly rhetorical process."⁸² The artifacts of mnemonic engagement, whether the places, monuments, practices, rituals, or embodied exchanges—in short, the symbols—that are inscribed and require a constant re-inscribing of memories thus become the rhetorical resources from which these individuals and publics draw. Distinctly local, memories require active engagement with these mnemonic properties. World Heritage heterotopias, on the other hand, belong to a global order and are owned by one and all; memories belong to comparatively few. In the

⁸¹ "Between memory and history," p. 8.

⁸² Introduction, *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), p. 2.

symbolic battle over meaning making in these spaces, then, these spatio-temporal juxtapositions threaten the sustainability of the memories that require active movement.

There is a real risk, then, when ownership of these symbols and mnemonic properties become dislodged from the normal and essentially localized spatial and temporal order. Places of memory are identified, categorized, and codified when ultimately inscribed on the World Heritage List through the application of the preservationist apparatus. Once the nomination process is under way, the construction of a World Heritage heterotopia is rapidly unfurled through these application intensities. Or, in Foucault's terms, the appropriation of a place of memory within the World Heritage network puts into a motion an "an ensemble of actions which induce others and follow from one another..." both "on existing actions [and] on those which may arise in the present or the future."⁸³ Moreover, in addition to this set of protocols, processes, and regulating principles, the physical boundaries of memory places are also strictly delimited once taken up as World Heritage sites. As stated in the Operational Guidelines, "[t]he delineation of boundaries is an essential requirement in the establishment of effective protection of nominated properties. Boundaries should be drawn to ensure the full expression of the Outstanding Universal Value and the integrity and/or authenticity of the property."⁸⁴ World Heritage heterotopias thus start and end through this spatial demarcation and boundary drawing, serving as a rhetorical force that pries these memory places from their local context. "[A]ny sense of place," asserts Laurajane Smith, thus "becomes inevitably constrained by the boundaries defined by its management practices and classification." Elaborating on this point, Smith writes that

In the legislative and planning processes that drive [World Heritage] management systems, this need [for boundaries] is unavoidable — but what it does is... limit

⁸³ "The subject and power," pp. 786 - 789.

⁸⁴ Operational Guidelines, p. 25.

the possibility of the fluidity and mutability of meaning by constraining and framing the physical experiences and interactions people may have with place. The ability to map and define boundaries is a political act of naming and defining which has implications for power/knowledge of and about place... In effect heritage experiences/performances become regulated by the management process itself.⁸⁵

Indeed, these various regulations, restrictions, guidelines, and boundary demarcations make up the meaning of what "heritage" is under the World Heritage paradigm. For Foucault, the narratives employed to define, catalogue, and demarcate a given heritage site thus understood could rightly be taken as a discursive formation. Discursive formations, for Foucault, are inscribed in "rituals... [and] meticulous procedures that impose rights and obligations..., establish[ing] marks of... power and engrav[ing] memories on things and even within bodies."⁸⁶ Multifarious and immensely diverse are the places that make up the World Heritage network. Indeed, such place are ostensibly "too heterogeneous to be linked together and arranged in a single figure..." or form a "sort of great uninterrupted text." However, the application of the preservationist apparatus allows for one to identify an implicit "order in their successive appearance, correlations in their simultaneity," and an identifiable similitude that positions them in a "common" (imagined) space.⁸⁷ As this discursive formation is put into operation within and throughout these place-making processes, these material "actions" impact the manner in which local publics relate to, live in, navigate, and narrate their own heritage places and perform in their memory spaces. As a discursive formation, then, a given universal heritage narrative and the preservationist apparatus that operationalize it constitutes a set of power relations that works from the transnational level, through the bodies, practices, and discourses of heritage experts, and into local material forms. It justifies the demarcation of heritage space to *assure* its universal

⁸⁵ *Uses of Heritage*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 79.

⁸⁶ "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-memory and Practice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 150 - 151.

⁸⁷ *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), pp. 36 - 39.

value and to give meaning to all and each within those delineated confines. An act of naming and defining, it is a rhetorical statement of power that re-sets the old meanings and boundary lines, rendering heterotopic effects. As such, given the principle of universal heritage value and the idea that these sites are owned by one and all implies that, once inscribed, "locals do not have exclusive possession—material or imaginative—over a site [and its material contents]; they are not the only ones who are allowed to utilize it as a means of creating identity."⁸⁸ Indeed, there is an underlying potential for local actors to lose the capacity to directly engage and interact with these memory places and the mnemonic artifacts therein; once a site of living memory, now a site of heritage owned by one and all. Locals must act and speak through and within a foreign web of relations that are articulated from the top down but which emerge from interstices as seemingly real, authoritative, contingent, and aesthetic enactments. These discourses of power speak both to and emerge from local publics' everyday practices, habits, and utterances, thus shaping identity and subjectivity in the process.⁸⁹

These living memory places as socially homogeneous risk losing their efficacy as a resource for local actors to take rhetorical action and to offer up competing narratives and heritage counter-values. "Memory is life," Pierre Nora writes, "borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived."⁹⁰ Indeed, homogeneous places of living memory and their endemic mnemonic discourses are threatened by cooptation and transformation by being given the mark of World Heritage. Their meanings and guiding narratives may thus be manipulated to meet the standards and norms of the protocols

⁸⁸ The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage and Tourism (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), p. 143.

⁸⁹ I return to this notion in the following two chapters.

⁹⁰ "Between memory and history," p. 8.

endemic of the preservationist apparatus in its local manifestation. Living memory thus becomes frozen with the heterotopic hypostatization of local space and time. On the conceptual and narrative level, then, the evolution of memory in living communities is indeed threatened through such spatial re-figuring, and as Nora points out, so is the productive ability to forget.

Forgetting, like remembrance, is also a key component of memory work and the (re)construction of identity. In living communities, the ability to forget serves as a rhetorical sensibility of moving beyond a non-productive, no longer relevant, or even damaging past. Through the museological process of World Heritage practices, however, the forgotten and gone becomes the forcibly present and re-articulated mnemonic, while the no-longer-significant is preserved to persist. To be sure, restoring a war-torn cultural artifact at a heritage site to its more or less original aesthetic material form may offer an invigorating tool that allows local publics to move beyond the memories of violence inscribed in the absence or the dilapidated form of the memory token, speaking to a "better" pre-war time. On the other hand, memories of violence, contested periods of the past, or non-relevant histories that are inscribed in mnemonic absences and material dilapidations can serve important rhetorical functions for identity work as well. "For [some]", notes Bradford Vivian, "forgetting is a productive activity that defines their responses to, and degrees of agency within, their immediate past - the one within living memory."⁹¹ Productive forgetting allows a community to take control of their past for the sake of the future. There's a real danger, then, when the material traces of the past oppress or otherwise disallow the ability to move on and foster the conditions of possibility for growth and change. The World Heritage program does not forget; it only remembers and does so without a sense of the past. The museological processes of restoring absent or otherwise damaged cultural artifacts thus run the risk of re-introducing materials that foment a sense of the past that stymies a forward-moving

⁹¹ Public Forgetting: The Rhetoric and Politics of Beginning Again, (State College, PA: Penn State Press, 2010), p. 178.

memory production or conscious forfeiture. A community's memory (and forgetting) work is contingent upon the "reciprocal and interrelated interaction among the people who remember, the places where they house their memories, and the contexts in which this remembering occurs."⁹² Moreover, the material artifacts that populate these places—whether at the monumental level or in mere mnemonic ephemera—are the resources that such people draw from, re-inscribe with nascent narratives that fit the contingent context, and which thus serve as the fuel of memory's fire. Thus, when a homogeneous living memory community transforms to a preserved and disembedded heritage place that is connected to a global network, the resources within these spaces may also be re-defined and dislocated, unreachable in an immediate forever.

In the above analysis and discussion, I have tried to argue for how the preservationist apparatus and discursive formation of a given universal heritage narrative operate from the top down to foster heterotopic spatial and mnemonic conditions. In the subsequent chapter I move to a ground-level, bottom-up analysis to continue engaging this process. However, before moving on, the following section introduces the Medina of Fez, Morocco in the context of the preservation campaign that brought forth the conditions of possibility for the "old city" to join the World Heritage network. This section focuses on the set of analyses and policies that were put into practice in assessing the Medina in the early stages of the preservation campaign. Together, I argue, they constitute a means to chart the networks of relations that justified and put the World Heritage program into being. Through this discussion, I aim to explicate how the preservationist apparatus plays itself out through these networks of interaction and analysis, thus constituting an ensemble of practices that give way to the Medina of Fez as a heterotopia. While for the most part I leave the discussion of heterotopia behind in this discussion, I return to it

⁹² Roger Aden, et. al. "Re-collection: A proposal for refining the study of collective memory and its places," *Communication Theory* (2009), p. 311.

throughout the remainder of this thesis as a conceptual frame and methodological lens to explore memory, space, and practice in the Medina. I conclude with some forward looking thoughts through previewing the remaining two chapters based on this discussion.

Preserving the Medina: Challenges, Tensions, Complications

O Fez! In you are gathered all the beauties in the world. How many are the blessings and riches that you bestow upon your inhabitants. The challenge will tax man's capacities and imagination to the full.

—Amadou-Mahtar M-Bow, former director general of the World Heritage program

Many of the nearly 1000 World Heritage sites today consist of a central artifact, a uniform set of structures, or a cohesive and clearly demarcated urban center. However, the universal heritage narrative that inscribed the Medina of Fez on the List uniquely comprises several sites, artifacts, monuments, and other intangible heritage practices.⁹³ As described by the World Heritage program, the Medina "not only represents an outstanding architectural, archaeological, and urban heritage, but also transmits a life style, skills and a culture that persist and are renewed despite the diverse effects of the evolving modern societies." Moreover, the official narrative explicates that the architecture includes a "considerable number of religious, civil, and military monuments" decorated and designed in a unique construction and aesthetic style characteristic of this ten-centuries-old "multi-cultural" city. In addition, the "local knowledge and skills" which are "interwoven with diverse outside inspiration (Andalousian, Oriental and African)" are also a part of the justification for the inscription and which constitute universal heritage status. The phrase "urban fabric," which it lauds for remaining "remarkably homogenous" over the centuries, may be the best phrase to encapsulate all of these heritage

⁹³ As stated in the introduction, sites nominated for World Heritage status must meet at least one out of ten criteria. The Medina was nominated and inscribed under criteria ii and criteria v, as follows: Criterion ii - to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; Criterion v - to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change. See a full list of the criteria here: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>.

aggregates. Finally, and perhaps most significantly given the preceding discussion on the heterotopic character of heritage sites, the Medina is described as an "astonishing city museum" in the universal heritage narrative.⁹⁴

What all of this amounts to are the composite elements that define the Medina as a justified candidate for World Heritage designation. Laurajane Smith refers to this designating narrative as the "authorized heritage discourse." For Smith, "the authorized discourse is a... professional discourse that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, and [which] dominates and regulates professional heritage practices."⁹⁵ It functions as a justificatory rhetoric for expertised knowledge-production that gives the World Heritage program authority over the site's outstanding universal value. A totalizing discourse, it also serves as a bulwark against any and all other heritage narrative claims. In this, the official narrative that frames a heritage site is a hypostatizing discourse that lends to dislodging the site from its temporal mobility; it is the initial move in freezing time and shifting temporal boundaries. The power relations that underpin this official discourse dictate who is allowed to name heritage values and manage the constituent material heritage elements and character of the given place. Demarcating the physical and conceptual boundaries of the place as an emergent World Heritage site also falls to the task of this narrative claim. As for the Medina, "the boundaries of the property inscribed on the World Heritage List are clear and appropriate and include the urban fabric and the walls."⁹⁶ That is, the official discourse recognizes all elements within the walls of the Medina as being within the applicable purview of the preservationist apparatus as a managing tool. This not only includes the monuments, buildings, and walls that

⁹⁴ *Medina of Fez, The*, UNESCO. (1981/2012). <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170>.

⁹⁵ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ *Medina of Fez, The*, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170>.

enclose the city, but also the "local knowledge and skills," the "lifestyle," and the "culture" endemic of the site.

As such, the Medina preservation campaign represented a number of challenges and complexities that were unprecedented within the World Heritage program. Due to this complexity, the UNESCO sent a multi-disciplinary team of heritage experts to conduct a thorough analysis of the Medina through a three-phase framework. The analysis consisted of comprising a detailed inventory of the number of and of the different housing types (derbs, houmas and riads), along with detailing the various monuments and fountains, the madrasas (religious schools), fonduqs (artisanal cooperative), suqs (markets), along with mapping the spatial dimensions, passageways, and other material concerns in need of preservation. The heritage experts followed these early defining and cataloguing practices with an "extensive diagnostic phase" consisting of thousands of surveys and studies of local artisanal practices. Finally, prior to implementation and action, a brainstorming phase that advanced a number of different possible preservationist approaches was carried out.⁹⁷ These analyses were conducted using standards dictated by the Operational Guidelines and consistent with its policies and protocols. Moreover, the study brought together various international, Moroccan national, local, and independent agents, each of whom worked in concert to construct this heritage narrative via the analysis. The main "threats to the heritage value" that preservationists identified and which the campaign needed to address included the "deterioration of the buildings" and the "over-populated area." Embodying a preservationist-knows-best mentality, this report in particular is

⁹⁷ "The first, a phase of preliminary analysis, took inventory of all available data on the city of Fez and established an approach to the urban problems in the agglomeration. The second was an extensive diagnostic phase based on surveys: an artisanal survey, a housing survey, a multiple question survey of 5,000 households and an industrial survey. In the third phase we elaborated alternative plans for development of the city. Afterwards, the documentation was compiled. For each phase, reports and notes including discussion of progress and preliminary conclusions-were presented to the municipal council. In the second phase, a document of consultation was discussed and sent to all the administrative and technical departments in Fez." Najib Laraichi et al., "The master plan for preserving the Medina," UNESCO documents (1978).

truly telling of how locals have little say in determining what and how something should be preserved.⁹⁸ Moreover, in terms of boundary drawing through these analyses, "the surrounds of the [M]edina" were considered as an "indispensible element of the visual aspect of its environment and must be maintained as a non-constructible zone. This area is vulnerable due to pressure from uncontrolled urban development." In other words, while the boundaries the delineate the counters of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Medina are everything within and including the walls, a no-construction buffer zone was also demarcated around the Medina as an extra safeguard against change. All of these elements together render a top-down spatial articulation of power written by a globally deployable apparatus: the demarcation of the heritage site boundaries; the delimitation of a no-construction zone surrounding the Medina; the meticulous mapping of the terrain; the authorship and inscription of an official heritage narrative; the introduction of surveillance technologies; along with the cataloguing, categorizing, and classifying of the site's constituent elements.⁹⁹ Finally, this all give rise to the Medina qua World Heritage site, and a spatial, temporal, and material *problem* that needs to be solved.¹⁰⁰

This "problem," accordingly, requires a set of practices that aim to "fix" it or set it right. That is, to introduce a set of practices, knowledges, and a system of surveillance that assures that

⁹⁸ As Jean-Paul Ichter stated in a report to UNESCO with reference to the housing problematic in the Medina, "We must avoid idealizing the conditions of life in the madina [sic] and projecting our dreams on a reality which is not always felicitous. Without denying the qualities of the traditional city, we must admit that in their totality they represent neither the ideal nor the lifestyle of future generations. Fundamental social transformations render exceedingly hypothetical any systematic revitalization of traditional housing in Fez. Housing here is linked to a type of society fast in the process of disappearing. In actual fact, the population has never been asked to present its vision of the city of tomorrow... Making generalizations about the precise experience of a city with 250,000 inhabitants and some 20,000 houses is a burdensome and time-consuming task for specialists.... Under present exigencies there has been talk of eliminating this housing legacy whereas it should be developed either through transformation or replacement."

"Fez: the ideal and the reality of the Islamic city," *The Moroccan Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning*, (1981). Stefano Bianca, Stefano Bianca, "Fez: Toward the rehabilitation of a great city," UNESCO Report Documents (1980), p. 31.

⁹⁹ Local institutions were tasked with the job of enforcing the no-construction zone while also putting a stop to any other constructions that interfered with the heritage value of the site. I return to this in chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰ While I take this as a good starting point in this endeavor, in Foucault's terms this calls a further examination of "how forms of rationality inscribe themselves in practices or systems of practices, and what role they play within them, because it's true that 'practices' don't exist without a certain regime of rationality... [And thus one must] analyze it according to two axes: on the one hand, that of codification/prescription (how it forms an ensemble of rules, procedures, means to an end, etc.), and on the other, that of true or false formulation (how it determines a domain of objects about which it is possible to articulate true or false propositions)." "The question of methods," p. 79. Indeed, such is the nature of this project.

the threats to the heritage value can be approached and "solved." This involves introducing an ensemble of practices and logics as a means of setting the place spatially and temporally aside—constructing the site as a heterotopia—as to ensure that the problem (of deterioration and decay, but also development) will not be exacerbated. Constructing a World Heritage heterotopia thus serves as a safeguard against further decay and as a discursive strategy that seeks to protect the Outstanding Universal Value of a given site as dictated by the site's official narrative. If progress and development are threats to heritage value, then the preservationists must seek means of countering these mobile dimensions of space and time by dislodging the heritage place from its embedded and continuous plane. Again, on the conceptual level this results from applying the principle of universal value and the meta-narrative of unity in diversity, and connecting the heritage place with the global World Heritage network. On the technical, material level this heterotopic rendering results from the application of the preservationist apparatus and its constitutive ensemble of practices. While these logics may pose a threat to living memories as I discussed above, the preservationist apparatus and its actors are assured of their own merit and do not recognize this danger. The apparatus is blind to the local mnemonic articulations as being lost, damaged, or threatened *per se*.¹⁰¹ Rather, its guiding principles of unity in diversity and universal value are intended to save such living memories through its museological and heritagization processes of arresting time.

In the case of the Medina, however, the problem of preserving the heritage defined by the official narrative was from the outset fraught with complexity and complications. Again, the

¹⁰¹ This is not to suggest that preservationist actors do not have the best interest of the communities that they work within in mind. The Convention text in fact dictates that a World Heritage site should first and foremost consider how the inscription of a site can be used in the "daily life of communities." However, while these efforts are no doubt present, such local involvement is often mediated by heritage experts, or locals simply become part of the heritage tourist industry of their formerly owned site. In other words, while preservationist actors and the UNESCO itself ostensibly has the best interest of the communities in mind, the preservationist apparatus operates through them, assures them that their task is a noble one, and that constructing a local place as a World Heritage city will benefit the community almost in itself.

problem was not as simple as restoring and preserving a simple urban square or monument, but preserving an entire network that included locals' spatial practices and lifestyles, along with all of the aforementioned monuments, artifacts, and other material dimensions of the old city. For the preservationists, this boiled down to their inability to separate these elements from one another, as the "urban fabric" was taken as a tightly integrated network. As Stefano Bianca, leader of the UNESCO assessment team that analyzed the problem of Fez, reported back to the World

Heritage program:

Monuments, such as mosques and madrasas, hardly stand out as isolated buildings; rather, they dissolve into an architectural mass which forms a kind of vast collective dwelling. As a result, the monuments cannot be dissociated from their urban context. This feature is characteristic of many Islamic cities, but it is in Fez that the principle finds its most significant realization. The entire fabric, and not the individual monuments—beautiful as they might be—must be the object of preservation.¹⁰²

From its early days through the present, the Medina preservation campaign has been widely considered to be an immense and near insurmountable challenge by many of the participating and leading institutional actors involved. This challenge was most recently articulated in a status report on the Medina preservation campaign published by the World Bank in 2005. Due to the unprecedented complexity of preserving a living city, its unique and complicated urban design, "the mistrust of locals," "'middle class' flight," immense poverty, poor living conditions, unemployment, lack of funding, impatient international donors, and a number of other technical and conceptual factors were cited.¹⁰³ "The physical skeleton [of the Medina] has fallen into an almost fatal state of neglect that elicits only despair and perplexity on the part of the administrators and technicians," writes Bianca.¹⁰⁴ In fact, of the near twenty preservationist

¹⁰² Stefano Bianca, "Fez: Toward the rehabilitation of a great city," UNESCO Report Documents (1980), p. 31

¹⁰³ "Implementation completion report... for the Fez Medina Rehabilitation Campaign," *A Document of the World Bank*, (2006), pp. 2 - 8.

¹⁰⁴ Bianca, pp. 31

initiatives that the World Bank report details and reviews that have taken place between 1980 and 2005, the only project deemed "satisfactory" has been the transformation of eleven dilapidated houses (riads) into tourist boutique hotels and extended-stay guest houses.¹⁰⁵ A project that has primarily been funded and promoted by private investors and which was bolstered through the development of an expanding tourist infrastructure, including the recent construction of an airport that connects with several European cities.¹⁰⁶ Despite over thirty years and hundreds of millions of dollars, the preservationists just cannot seem to "fix the problem" of the Medina.

The technical complexity and overall shortcomings of the preservation campaign to date as proffered by the heritage experts has not negated the Medina from being recognized as a World Heritage city, however. It seems that the rhetorical efficacy of the World Heritage emblem as a hegemonic driver still fosters a city primarily identified for its World Heritage status. By both local actors and a broad range of global publics, from the institutional to the touristic, the World Heritage designation shapes and defines the discursive field. One cannot help but come across explicit and promotional references to the Medina's World Heritage status whether reading travel forums on Morocco (such as TripAdvisor and Lonely Planet), home-stay websites (like Airbnb and Couchsurfing), or in reading informational or historical accounts of Fez online. In travel forums in particular, it is often lauded for being an experience of being "a step back in time."¹⁰⁷ As such, while the World Heritage discourse continues to circulate despite lack of preservation success, it still exists as a place defined for its universal character; heterotopic in nature as a result of the rhetorical potency of the World Heritage designation. The

¹⁰⁵ I return to this in the subsequent chapter.

¹⁰⁶ "Implementation completion report...", pp. 8.

¹⁰⁷ "'A step back in time:' Review of Medina of Fez," TripAdvisor, Accessed July 2, 2013.
http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g293733-d318051-r123191359-Medina_of_Fez-Fes_Fes_Boulemane_Region.html.

Medina still is widely regarded for its World Heritage status today, a discursive condition that remains despite an absence of physical representations of the program therein. That is, the UNESCO does not have an office, staff, signage, or any direct relation with current preservation projects within the Medina today—an absence which is highly unique given the protocols set forth by the *Operational Guidelines*. This begs the question of how this World Heritage city can persist as such without any symbolic referents or direct, active engagement.

Conclusion

For the World Heritage program, the Medina represents a technical challenge that preservationists have struggled with in terms of applying their distinct brand of restoration and preservation practices. In many respects, from the early reports conducted by Bianca's team to the later reports by the World Bank, the preservation campaign at the Medina has by and large been a failure. However, despite UNESCO's lack of a contemporary presence in Fez, the World Heritage discourse still fundamentally defines the city for various publics. This perhaps results from the rhetorical efficacy of the World Heritage emblem as a place-making tool, along with the global circulation of this discourse through touristic channels, both globally and on the ground in Fez. From a mere policy and traditional textual analysis, it would be easy to make a claim for domination and oppression, issuing a critique of a set of global power relations that plays down upon a local public and robs them of their living memories. But a more careful and nuanced reading affords the opportunity to uncover and engage undisclosed, local-level rhetorics, and perhaps shed light on a different side of the Medina as a World Heritage heterotopia, one where there is no clear winner or loser, villain or victim.

In other words, there is only so much that can be discerned through the analysis of policy and traditional textual artifacts. One can only see the topography when looking down from up on

high. As opposed to writing the "view from above" which seeks to establish its objectivity and authority from its position of power, Donna Haraway suggests that the "view from ground level, from the thick of things....," that is, the "view from the body," provides a richer and more dynamic reading than a text-based criticism could procure.¹⁰⁸ The view from the body grants access to fragments of meaning manifesting in real-time discourse and practice. Identifying bits and fragments that when collected, analyzed, re-assembled, re-read, and re-interpreted, may together form a legible text capable of penetrating local-level articulations, while contextualizing macro-level power relations in the process. In all, the following chapter moves to ground level and offers a method of reading a World Heritage city from below. Drawing on Michel de Certeau and critical heritage studies literature, I continue to develop heterotopia as a spatial lens for making sense of the effects of when a preservationist apparatus that privileges materiality meets living memory that requires fluidity.

¹⁰⁸ Haraway 1991, quoted in Conquergood, 2013, p. 34

Chapter 3

"The View from Ground Level": Walking Out of Time

The World Heritage program does not have any physical presence in the Medina of Fez in terms of an office, stationed heritage professionals, or any aesthetic representation such as placards or other signage.¹⁰⁹ Despite this absence, however, the World Heritage discourse still widely circulates through multiple global and local channels. From travel forums, blogs, and other vernacular online media, to home-stay booking websites, hotel business pages, and websites providing travel tips for visiting Fez, the ubiquity of this discourse is near unavoidable.¹¹⁰ As Edward Bruner writes, "Because there are no naive travelers, tourists begin each trip with some preconceptions about the destination—a pretour narrative... [T]ourists gather information about the destination that is based on many sources... Tour brochures, government tourism bureaus, travel agents, travel writers, media, airlines, and hotels work within the frame of the pretour master narrative in their writing, advertising, photography, decor, and depiction of the destination. It is marketing, branding presenting a product, selling an experience."¹¹¹ As such, tourists planning to visit Fez will likely be aware of the old city's World Heritage status before arriving. This awareness lends to the pre-shaping of touristic expectations and travel

¹⁰⁹ This is unique to Fez, for most World Heritage cities are rather clearly marked with billboards and official placards, as consistent with the terms of the World Heritage Convention and World Heritage designation. "The World Heritage Convention," UNESCO. November 25, 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>

¹¹⁰ In a simple Google search of "Visiting the Medina of Fez," the top result is the official UNESCO listing, the second is from WorldHeritage.org, and there are numerous others that also discuss this narrative (results may vary by browser/personal use). Many of these listings are common travel planning resources such as TIME magazine's TIME Traveler article on "Five Reasons to Visit Fez," travel agencies such as travel-exploration.com, About.com's Fes (Fez) Travel Guide (a site dedicated to Moroccan travel planning), blogs such as "Insider's Guide to Fez, Morocco" (one of the top listed Morocco travel blogs/guides), in the "Hip Guide to Fez," on Visit-Fez.com's "Web Guide to Fez," in various hotel finder websites dedicated to Fez, including Barcelo.com, the UK-based HotelLettings, the luxury hotel site Sofitel.com, and in vernacular forums such as TripAdvisor (Review of Fes el-Bali, and many others. As tourists tend to review more than one website before making their journey, it would indeed be difficult to not be aware of the UNESCO status of Fez.

¹¹¹ *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 22.

desires, and for many tourists the World Heritage status may even serve as one of the reasons for visiting the Medina of Fez in the first place.¹¹²

The ubiquity of the World Heritage discourse about a given site is not an isolated or random phenomenon. As Rodney Harrison notes, in the 1990s “[t]ourist guidebooks began to list World Heritage sites as a series of ‘wonders of the world,’ and the descriptions of World Heritage sites would often emphasize their picturesque aesthetic qualities and historical importance. [World Heritage has] become an important marketing tool not only for promoting tourism to individual sites, but also in promoting the World Heritage ‘idea’ as a universal, global principle... Heritage sites thus become places to which members of the public travelled to gain an experience of the past.”¹¹³ Indeed, heritage tourism is a global phenomenon and the World Heritage emblem functions rhetorically to validate World Heritage sites as places of visitability.¹¹⁴ As I suggested in the previous chapter, one of the benefits of inscribing a regional cultural site on the World Heritage list is the attention that the city receives across a global audience. As a World Heritage city, then, the Medina of Fez is visited by millions of global and regional tourists every year, navigating the touristic network that heritage preservationists built, whether with guided tours or autonomously.¹¹⁵ In droves, they come to take part in a discourse of universal heritage and consume it in the process.

¹¹² Harrison details the “heritage boom” that emerged in the late 1980s and saw a surge in global heritage tourism, and to World Heritage sites in particular. Ibid, pp. 68 - 94.

¹¹³ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 86 - 89.

¹¹⁴ For Harrison, “The World Heritage emblem itself has become a global brand, and is used to mark World Heritage sites clearly for visitors and tourists... World Heritage has become a mark of distinction; a symbol of wealth, status and cosmopolitan approach to urban planning and design; and a guarantee of a site’s value as a visitable destination...[I]t has become an important symbol of place branding and a designation of a site’s visitability,” *ibid*.

¹¹⁵ International tourism in Morocco grew from 4.4 million tourists in 2001, to over 10 million tourists in 2010, and the current plan outlined in Vision 2020 is aiming to build an infrastructure and promote Morocco as a touristic destination to bring in 20 million tourists by 2020. “Vision 2020 for Tourism in Morocco: Raise the destination to be in the top twenty of the touristic destinations in the world,” Department of Tourism, Morocco, 2010. Cf. Azis Allilou, Morocco’s Tourism Vision 2020 aims to attract 20 million Tourists,” *Morocco World News*, Feb 22, 2013. <http://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2013/11/113277/moroccos-tourism-vision-2020-aims-to-attract-20-million-tourists/>. As the World Bank reported with regard to this plan, the “tourism growth objective of reaching the target of 10m visitors by 2010 *relies*

As such, and among other things, this chapter explores the effects of the touristic presence—foreign bodies moving through local space—on the Medina, continuing the previous chapter's discussion of the World Heritage heterotopia. That is, in the previous chapter I explored how the primary principles and protocols constitutive of the preservationist apparatus renders top-down heterotopic effects. I will now explore how the heterotopia is grounded and sustained from the bottom up. Again, this is not an effort to reify the Medina or World Heritage sites as heterotopias, but instead to use heterotopia as a lens to consider the clash and effects of when a heritage preservation campaign meets a place of living memory. This bottom-up reading will primarily employ Michel de Certeau's notion of "pedestrian rhetorics" to consider how space in the Medina is re-defined through the transient spatial practices of tourists. Embracing my own embodiment as a tourist in space, I acknowledge the fact that my presence and spatial practices also lends to this bottom-up heterotopic construction. This is not to say that I performed a tourist identity, but rather that my being there as a clear outsider automatically put the touristic disposition upon me. Moreover, I found that the World Heritage discourse also manifests unprovoked in spaces of interaction between tourists and the Fassi. That is, in encountering and interacting with locals on several occasions they referred to the World Heritage status of the Medina without any prompts from me beyond my mere presence as a supposed tourist. While this could be read through Foucault as evidence that this discourse of power has become normalized within vernacular culture, I instead contend that Fassi use this discourse as a means of "making do" and to seize the economic opportunity that the touristic presence represents. Through engaging local-level discourse and practice, then, this chapter will offer a reading from below of this World Heritage city and how it is constructed as such.

significantly on cultural destinations like Fes." "Implementation completion report... for the Fez Medina Rehabilitation Campaign," *A Document of the World Bank*, (2006, emphasis added), p. 3.

Along these same lines, I also further engage the preservation campaign that is still taking place in the Medina today. Although the World Heritage program has no physical presence in Fez, the preservationist apparatus is still employed to manage and preserve the “heritage” endemic of the Medina through other, non-affiliated local preservationist actors. In particular, these local preservationists are broadly of two different actor-types that follow two divergent philosophies of preservation, although both are common in their concern with the materiality of heritage. On the one hand, the *instrumental approach* sees preservation as restoring the materiality of the past using traditional materials and techniques. This philosophy is commonly found in larger scale projects such as restoring monumental structures and riads, and usually with touristic accommodation as an end goal. On the other hand, the *superficial approach* focuses on micro-restoration projects that, while using traditional materials and techniques to restore the aesthetics of the Medina's façade, also utilizes modern materials to re-enforce the interior of these structures. As such, in this chapter I engage two preservationists that are representative of the two actor-types that identify and employ the preservationist apparatus in the Medina: a Fassi elite who grew up in Fez, was educated in France in archaeology, and who owns properties in the Medina; and an American expatriate who has been living in the Medina for over 15 years. Both are elites in different senses, they both identify with the preservationist campaign, and they both also speak about other similar preservationist campaigns that are carried out by their colleagues and peers in the Medina. Through engaging these two preservationist actor-types, I aim to explicate how these different modes of preservation privilege that materiality of heritage and how such processes lend to heterotopic effects. When considered alongside my analysis of the touristic presence in the Medina as previewed above, I suggest that these interrelated effects,

along with other factors, foment the conditions of possibility for the heterotopia to be sustained from the bottom up.

Overall, in this chapter I argue that the Medina of Fez manifests as a World Heritage *heterotopia*—a spatially disembedded and temporally discontinuous place—in multiple ways and through various spaces of interaction. I offer a reading from below that contributes to and complements the previous chapter's engagement with top-down processes. This bottom-up analysis engages spatial practices of tourists, local's participation in upholding the dominant narrative in spaces of interaction, and a preservationist apparatus that attaches itself to and thus privileges the materiality of heritage in the Medina. Drawing on Michel de Certeau's notion of "pedestrian rhetorics," critical heritage studies literature, and employing the heterotopia lens, this chapter also serves as a framework and case study that explores the question of how to read a World Heritage city from ground level.

Bottom-Up Methods of Reading a City

The increasing employment of field methods in rhetorical studies in recent years has led many scholars to re-think and re-invent textual criticism's *modus operandi*. Such a methodological orientation allows scholars to access discursive, performative, and material 'texts' that would otherwise remain out of the purview of more traditional text or speech-based rhetorical criticism. By entering the field, such scholars stand face-to-face with living rhetorics and emplaced within live rhetorical communities where discourse and practice happens in real time and is performed by "real people." Emerging out of the vernacular turn in critical rhetoric, practitioners of rhetorical field methods aim to critique domination and oppression from the standpoint of marginalized communities.¹¹⁶ As Middleton, Senda-Cook, and Endes point out,

¹¹⁶ Scholarship focused on engaging vernacular rhetorics and publics has seen an upsurge in the past ten years especially. Emerging from Ramie McKerrow's seminal essay on "critical rhetoric," the vernacular turn flips critical rhetoric on its head and

"These efforts at *in situ* rhetorical analysis are valuable because they sharpen the ability for [critical rhetoric] to engage seriously the voices of marginalized rhetorical communities and mundane discourses that often evade critical attention..." As such, this critical orientation "serves the dual function of cataloguing often marginalized rhetorical action *and* representing these practices in ways that contribute to the emancipatory aims of [critical rhetoric]."¹¹⁷ Rhetorical field methods do not merely allow for a "closer reading" of a given rhetorical context, then, but also positions the rhetorician as a critical contributor in fostering the conditions of possibility for social change and the de-stabilization of dominant narratives. The notion of *in situ* embodiment is important to this method, then, as is the notion of access. The rhetorician would not be able to observe or participate with live rhetorical communities, access the visual, sensuous or the affective, or interview or listen in to other views, without physically "being there" and engaging the scene and its actors. Embodied and embedded, rhetorical fieldwork also affords the rhetorician a position to contextualize macro-level rhetorics and institutional policies, through gaining an understanding of how they are re-produced, contested, or subverted on the local level.¹¹⁸ Indeed, as Middleton, Sendra-Cook and Endres point out, the majority of scholarship

sees scholars critiquing domination and oppression from the view of marginalized or otherwise oppressed communities as opposed to critiquing dominant institutions. Raymie McKerrow, "Critical rhetoric: Theory and praxis," *Communication Monographs*, issue 56, (1989): 91 -111; Kent Ono and John Sloop, "The critique of vernacular discourse," *Communication Monographs* 62 (1999): 19 - 46; John Sloop and Kent Ono, "Out-law discourse: The critical politics of material judgment," *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 30, issue 1 (1997): 50 - 69; Gerard Hauser, *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Sphere*. Colombia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999; Phaedra Pezzullo, *Performing critical interruptions: Stories, rhetorical invention and the environmental justice movement*, *Western Journal of Communication*, 65, issue 1 (2006): 1 - 25; Phaedra Pezzullo, *Toxic Tourism*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007; Aaron Hess, *Critical rhetorical ethnography: Rethinking the place and process of rhetoric*, *Communication Studies*, 62, issue 2, (2011): 127 - 152; Middleton, Sendra-Cook, & Endres, *Articulating field methods: Challenges and tensions*, *Western Journal of Communication*, 75, issue 4 (2011): pp. 386 - 406.

¹¹⁷ Michael Middleton, Samantha Senda-Cooke, Danielle Endes, "Articulating rhetorical field methods: challenges and tensions," p. 387.

¹¹⁸ As Middleton, Senda-Cook and Endes note, "rhetorical field methods aim at mapping the relationships and practices of reading and speaking that make texts mean differently... [and] positions critics to theorize how contemporary rhetorics resonate with audiences' lived experiences." Indeed, as opposed to this view from above, from the position of power, Donna Haraway suggests that the "view from the ground level, from the thick of things...", that is, the "view from the body," provides a richer and more dynamic reading of a living controversy than a text-based criticism could ever afford. In other words, while a traditional text-based criticism that engages policies, transcripts, newspapers, and other archival material certainly has its merit and can provide for a critical reading, such a reading is given an extra depth when *read against* how such discursive materials play themselves out in real time, real space, and through real people. Donna Haraway 1991, quoted in Conquergood, 2013, p. 34.

that employs rhetorical field methods calls for rhetoricians to take an active, participatory position as an advocate for marginalized communities.

However, "marginalized" does not always already imply "oppressed" in the sense of a villain-victim, winner-loser dichotomy. Marginal discourses can also simply mean "unspoken," which does not immediately give way to a gross injustice or notions of the forcibly silenced or violently pushed aside. As discussed in the previous chapter, discursive formations give way to normalized discourse and practice, in that those on the subordinate end of power relations participate in upholding and re-producing these relations. Commenting on this notion in Foucault's conception of power, Barbara Biesecker asserts that "power as repression or censorship is dangerous... not simply because it limits what can be said but, more important, because it incites speakers to believe that the very discourses it has effected [sic] are both of their own making and directed against it."¹¹⁹ Power relations are not oppressive in a strict, monolithic and totalizing form, then, but emerge from interstices, reproduced by various local, preservationist, and touristic actors' discourses and practices. As such, my employment of field methods for rhetorical scholarship is not a work of participant advocacy or activism in a sense of standing and "speaking with" a marginalized community.¹²⁰ It might be more appropriate to call this approach an *embodied spatial analysis* instead then, for indeed my aim is to shed light on the effects of bodies (my own included) interacting and moving in space. As I explicate below, the vernacular discourse that takes place on the local-level in the Medina is one that reproduces the World Heritage dominant narrative and upholds the heterotopic dynamic, but only in relation and in response to the touristic element. Accordingly, through accessing the local spaces of the Medina, my aim is to continue illuminating the shape and form of the power relations endemic of

¹¹⁹ Barbara Biesecker. "Michael Foucault and the question of rhetoric," *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 25, vol. 4 (1992): pp. 351 - 364.

¹²⁰ Linda Alcoff, "The problem of speaking for others." *Cultural Critique*, 20 (1991-1992): pp. 5 - 32.

the World Heritage place-making logics in order to locate the points of power's articulation and how locals make do within this field of relations. Conversational accounts form only part of the story, and thus an *in situ*, embodied analysis is required to get a better picture of how this established spatial order is maintained, and at times subverted, in the Medina.

Departing from critical rhetorical ethnography's preferred stance for engaging and participating in activist and advocacy work, then, Michel de Certeau provides a better framework for considering how to read a city as an embodied tourist, embedded in the scene. Starting from the view from above, the preceding chapter explored the spatial, temporal, and mnemonic effects constituted by the World Heritage program's driving principle of "universal value," the meta-narrative of "unity in diversity," and its technical museological heritagization protocols. Through such conceptual and technical labor, heritage sites assume a heterotopic re-spatialization as they are tied into a direct relation within a broader, global heteropae network. But in advancing such a heterotopic reading of World Heritage place-making effects is to suggest a stable urban projection, and one that exists at the level of concept alone. Certeau rejects such notions of a "concept-city... founded by utopian and urbanistic discourse" that "serves as a totalizing and almost mythical landmark of socioeconomic and political strategies."¹²¹ He advances a heuristic for critically engaging how a city is constructed and given meaning from ground level, one that is lived and moved about in, practiced and put into being through "pedestrian rhetorics." For Certeau, urban topographies arrange a city and delimit its spaces for pedestrian use, and this "spatialized order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g., by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g., by a wall that prevents one from going further)." However, such urban delimitations and demarcations have no meaning per se, he argues, for it is "the walker [that]

¹²¹ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 94 - 95.

actualizes some of these possibilities... [and] makes them exist as well as emerge."¹²² In other words, while an urban system affords possibilities to its users through a seemingly fixed topographical arrangement, pedestrians choose how to use and actuate these arrangements qua possibilities (and as a mode of "selection"), manipulate them through taking "shortcuts and detours," and thus "narrate" them through "mobile organicity."¹²³ In effect, Certeau re-figures a top-down notion of how urban planning defines a city and constrains its meanings, instead proffering a bottom-up conception suggesting that how a city is "used" is what provides meaning to space. For him, these amount to a "rhetoric of walking," and it is therefore the people who walk in the city that serve as "narrators" who tell its stories, spatialize it, define it.¹²⁴ That cities afford possibilities to its users also assumes that such pedestrian rhetorics do not take place at some point of exteriority. Instead, they occur within the threshold of available actions, which, while able to be subverted through selections and deflections of their potentiality, are still occurring within a constrained urban field of spatial possibilities. This brings up two important points that I address in some detail below.

First, urban systems demarcate pre-made stories that pedestrians can follow and which can be re-made by subsequent passer-bys. These institutionalized stories amount to "maps" which serve as "a memorandum prescribing actions" while the "tour[s] to be made [are] predominant in them."¹²⁵ In the Medina of Fez, a touristic circuit was built by the World Bank in 2005 to assist tourists in navigating different historical sites therein. Five routes snake their way through the narrow labyrinthine streets each marked by color-coded signs hung from the walls above the streets, and include a monumental circuit, a garden circuit, a craft circuit, and others.

¹²² Ibid, p. 98.

¹²³ Ibid, pp. 99.

¹²⁴ Ibid, pp. 99, 119.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 116.

Following Certeau, these circuits amount to ready-made stories built into the urban system that tourists can actuate by following the appropriate signs that mark the "itinerary."¹²⁶ On the other hand, as Certeau points out, these demarcated routes do not constrain pedestrians in a strict sense, for pedestrians instead are only truly constrained by the walls, dead-ends, and other impenetrable "interdictions." That is, while walkers cannot operate from a point of exteriority from the constraints of the urban system, pedestrian rhetorics afford a modicum of agency within the possible field of mobility. Walkers can jump from one circuit to the other, take "detours," turn around and re-trace their steps, or abandon the touristic circuit altogether and "get lost." In other words, while the place delimits a spatial configuration and the circuit demarcates an institutionalized path, the tourist performs the spatializing act of constructing the space and experiences within these limitations through walking.¹²⁷ While the touristic circuit is an important aspect of the Medina as a World Heritage city, in the following section I analyze and discuss the relationship between the Medina as heterotopia and how tourists *use* the touristic circuit. I suggest that the circuit *grounds* the heterotopia and serves as a pre-condition for how the Medina is constructed and experienced as such a temporally discontinuous, disembedded place, while also highlighting the locals relation to this spatializing process.

Second, while tourists as walkers spatialize the Medina and give it meaning, locals, although also playing a key part in the construction of the World Heritage heterotopia, are not without their own agentive bursts. As I suggest above, locals in the Medina re-produce the World Heritage narrative in touristic interactions and are engrained as embodied signs in the touristic circuit. Following Biesecker, this perhaps suggests a normalization of this dominant discourse

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ In de Certeau's oft-cited words, "In short, *space is a practiced place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: the written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs." Ibid, p. 117.

that local subjects unconsciously re-produce. However, while this Foucaultian reading is tempting, I instead suggest that the Fassi only reproduce and uphold this dominant discourse as a tactic of “making do.” Those on the subordinate end of power relations use such affirmative performances to benefit from the prevailing system, in this case for the sake of turning a profit from the touristic presence. While I explore this notion in the following section, I also identify and discuss instances where locals subtly defy the dominant order through what Certeau refers to as “tactics.” For him, “the space of a tactic is the space of the other,” but is located not from a point of exteriority to power’s spatial delimitation, here constituted by the World Heritage heterotopia, but rather is a “maneuver ‘within the enemy’s field of vision...’ and within enemy territory.” As such, tactics are not fully attacks from some position outside the discursive or symbolic arena, cannot accumulate and build weight to overthrow the structure, but are instead subtly subversive articulations that take “advantage of ‘opportunities,’ ... afforded by a particular occasion,” of quietly poking through the ruptures within the field of intelligibility. In sum, tactics are “clever tricks of the ‘weak’ within the established order of the ‘strong,’ an art of putting one over on the adversary on his own turf.”¹²⁸ While tactics are concerned with actuating kairos, taking advantage of a spontaneous occasion as it presents itself and for seizing a fleeting advantage, it is always operating against strategies that aim to delimit a discursive and material field that seeks to control time.¹²⁹ As such, tactics, as I will discuss, are momentary breaks and means of making do that are performed by locals and which pop up through the temporally discontinuous and spatially disembedded heterotopic network, momentarily emerging as signs of life, of short-lived mobility, and transient agentive force.

¹²⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 37, 40.

¹²⁹ Ibid, pp. 36 - 38.

In the following section, however, I first introduce the Medina from ground level through a brief autoethnographic account, discuss the touristic circuit and the effects of tourists' spatial practices, and engage two local preservationists in conversation.

Grounding the Heterotopia: Spatial Practices & Material Heritage

Walking in the Medina is a jarring experience. Travel forums like TripAdvisor and Lonely Planet claim that the experience is akin to a "step back in time" while the World Heritage narrative compares the medina to an "astonishing city museum."¹³⁰ From a Western perspective the description is understandable. Immediately when entering one of the eight main, highly ornate gates cut into the Medina's walls, one is confronted with camel heads hanging in front of vending stalls (to indicate fresh meat); donkeys packed high with bags from the market being led through the narrow streets as pedestrians slam up against the wall so as not to be crushed; overwhelming smells of animals fresh from slaughter; street vendors peddling everything from dates and figs, to blankets and fans, t-shirts to Moroccan sweets, and everything in between. The streets themselves, some no wider than a few feet wide, are enclosed by a twenty foot wall around the inside perimeter of the city, while the interior is equally as compact where one is surrounded by the outside facade of homes, a grayish-brown smooth wall surface. "*Belek, Belek!*" the Arabic bellow to clear the narrow roads sounds as a donkey, loaded to the hilt as the only means to transport heavy loads aside from hand carts, is led through the local and foreign bodies that hug the walls en masse. Dilapidated buildings around each corner, rail thin stray cats abound, men and women covered from head-to-toe in jilaba (the traditional garb), Muslim

¹³⁰ See the review, "'A step back in time:' Review of Medina of Fez," TripAdvisor, Accessed July 2, 2013. http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g293733-d318051-r123191359-Medina_of_Fez-Fes_Fes_Boulemane_Region.html; Similarly, a user on a Yahoo travel board posted, "the medina is a unique and good experience--- a step back in time that's worth it with a good guide. "Medina of Fez, Fez." Fez Attractions. Yahoo Travel Forums, http://travel.yahoo.com/p-travelguide-12799141-medina_of_fez_fez-i. See many others with a quick Google search: <https://www.google.com/#q=fez-medina+a+step+back+in+time>; *Medina of Fez, The*, UNESCO. (1981/2012). <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170>.

prayers funneling from radios in small shops, foreign smells, distinctly Arabic script and language, beautifully hand-carved fountains at every turn, together make for a jolting cultural experience. The Medina of Fez is truly a unique place, lending itself *prima facie* to a vision of the past consistent with many of the tourist and official narratives.

When walking through the Medina, however, one also notices the almost overwhelming presence of tourists: foreign bodies moving through local space. While many have tour guides, whether official or unofficial, the 1990s also saw the development of the touristic circuit, a network of routes marked with color-coded signs leading tourists through different parts of the old city.¹³¹ "Follow the brown signs if you want to see the al-Qarawiyyin."¹³² Follow the green signs and you will see the beautiful gardens of Fez," one local said to me as I declined his offer for an unofficial tour. When I asked who built the touristic circuit, the man replied that it was "UNESCO" that built the signs because "Fez is a city of universal heritage. Take pictures and put them on TripAdvisor. The world needs to see the beauty of our city." However, the UNESCO in fact was not involved in the construction of the touristic circuit, with the implementation or even sponsoring of the signs. Instead, the touristic circuit project was carried out by the Moroccan government and World Bank. Despite the lack of UNESCO involvement however, the Fassi commonly make reference to the UNESCO or World Heritage status in referring to this project. As I found many times throughout my month stay, the World Heritage discourse proliferates through such micro-interactions, as does the vernacular refrain calling for tourists to promote the Medina as a must-see travel destination. It seems that the touristic body rhetorically elicits this

¹³¹ Official tour guides often work closely with hotels and tourist travel agencies and in fact hold a certification as a recognized guide. However, many "unofficial" tour guides --local actors looking to exploit the tourist element for financial gain-- can also be found in the medina, and tourists, myself included, are often approached by one or many during their stay offering up their services.

¹³² The al-Qarawiyyin mosque was the biggest in Morocco until only the past 100 years (of the 1200 years of its existence). It sits at the center of the medina, and is also home to what is said by many to be the oldest university in the world, established as a madrasa in 895.

discourse, as the locals perhaps ostensibly see the tourist presence as resulting from the city's World Heritage status.

Indeed, as I argued in the previous chapter, the World Heritage emblem functions rhetorically to validate its designated sites as places of visitability and these sites are re-constructed with touristic travel in mind. Travelers often refer to how many heritage sites they have been to as status markers, checking them off their list and exchanging stories both in person and online. As one tourist from Berlin, Germany said to me, "I have been to twenty-six World Heritage sites, but I will never catch up to my sister who has seen over 100. She has not been to Fez so I think this should count for extra points!" World Heritage sites afford tourists the opportunity to bear witness to the shared heritage of humanity, collecting these experiences to bolster their own cultural capital and establish their identities as touring citizens of the world within the travel community. As Laurajane Smith asserts concerning tourists' museum visitation practices, "the ability to 'read' the cultural messages, and thus both acquire and exhibit cultural capital is crucial in demonstrating... middle and upper class identity."¹³³ Smith notes that this notion, while still dominant in critical museum studies literature, is perhaps too narrow to describe the type of work that tourists do when visiting museums. She calls for a deeper engagement with how and why visitors "participate and inter-relate with exhibitions and the museum experience overall."¹³⁴ A similar question can be asked with regard to tourists' visitation practices, expectations, and experiences at World Heritage sites, and such questions will be returned to frequently throughout the remainder of this larger project. For the present discussion however, what is important to note is that tourists do tend to relate to and consume heritage sites as status markers and engage with these sites as museological artifacts to be 'read.'

¹³³ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 198.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

To unpack what these assertions imply calls for the need to understand the relation between preservationists, how they define heritage, and of the spatial practices of tourists. This is a question of how heritage value is framed and made sense in preservation campaigns, how the preservationist apparatus attaches itself to what it demarcates as the heritage that needs to be managed, and how the World Heritage discourse is put into circulation.

The touristic circuit allows foreigners to autonomously move through the labyrinthine Medina streets and pathways without getting lost and without the need for a guide. It directs them from one monumental or iconic place to another, with each point of interest accompanied by a reference guide to narrate the experience.¹³⁵ Importantly, the material focus of the touristic stop-offs is indicative of what is deemed visitable by those who determine heritage value and ergo what is perceived to be worthy of preservation.¹³⁶ Many of the sites along the touristic network are either currently being restored through museological processes or have already undergone restoration. As Harrison notes, “the desire to preserve the fabric of objects, buildings and places in an unaltered, ‘authentic’ state is one of the most pervasive aspects of official heritage’s character... [and thus] much of the work of preservation could be understood as having an impact on the materiality... of heritage objects themselves.” Such processes as cleaning, restoring, and curating these sites for a touristic audience is, in effect, a material effort toward arresting decay and a rhetorical effort to put a stopper in the passage of time in the name of authenticity. As Harrison argues, these preservationist methods and practices that serve to “mediate the endings of things” transforms the relationship between those living in the places

¹³⁵ These reference guides are printed on approximately four-by-four foot wooden signs and are printed in three languages (Arabic, French and English). They provide historical background for each site, narrating what the tourist should take away in their experience. Moreover, many hotels, tourist offices and travel agencies in Fez also provide small booklets that add further context to each stop along the touristic circuit.

¹³⁶ As Bianca reported in his detail assessment of the state of preservation in Fez, “we should aim at *the preservation of representative [read: monumental] signs and symbols*. These will otherwise disappear with the fabric that contains them if the latter is not rendered healthy—that is, restored to normal functions in harmony with the aspirations and resources of its inhabitants.” Stefano Bianca, “Fez: Toward the rehabilitation of a great city,” UNESCO Report Documents (1980).

with these restored sites. No longer are these monuments, madrasas, fountains, and other material sites exclusively for locals, then, for they become transformed “from a functional ‘tool’ to an object of display.”¹³⁷ Clearly demarcated as places of visitation with their meanings delimited by their accompanying sign, such processes transform the Medina to an atemporal artifact on display for touristic consumption—an “astonishing city museum.” Through such processes that privilege the materiality of heritage, the preservationist apparatus saturates the discursive scene.

As Harrison and others have noted, heritage value at World Heritage sites is chiefly tied up with the materiality of these places. However, while the preservationist apparatus may privilege material representations of heritage, touristic rhetorics of walking through the Medina serve an important role in heterotopic construction. By inscribing the touristic circuit onto once exclusively local paths and routes, the intended user shifts from Fassi pedestrians to tourist pedestrians. The circuit provides a set of pre-written narratives through its points of interest, monumental stop offs, and signage which gives the circuit a codified story intended to be read and followed by these foreign visitors. And although such foreign pedestrian rhetorics “cannot be reduced to [the] graphic trail” demarcated by the five pre-written touristic routes, their walking practices nonetheless re-writes the spatial narratives therein.¹³⁸ The touristic “walker actualizes some of [the] possibilities” embedded in the circuit’s narrative, but also “invents others” through the “improvisation of walking” and thus “transforms each spatial signifier into something else.”¹³⁹ But even though the pre-written story endemic of the circuit is subverted, re-invented,

¹³⁷ Similarly, as Michael Shanks notes, “The creative process of working upon what is left of the past is one of translation and mediation, of metamorphosis, of turning the remains into something else. The archaeological site and its finds become text and image, account or catalogue, recombined into museum exhibition, revised into the narrative of the synthetic textbook or TV program, reworked into the rhetoric of a lecture course for an archaeological program,” quoted in Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 38.

¹³⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 99.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

redacted, transformed, and improvised upon by this rhetoric of walking, the narratives engendered by these touristic spatial practices are still written by a *foreign* other. Thus, it is through these touristic pedestrian mobilities, among these other things that I have been discussing, that the Medina is transformed from a local place to a space of the other.

In this sense, the touristic circuit functions as a grounding mechanism for the World Heritage city as heterotopia. It furnishes a bottom-up narrative that connects with and completes the top-down conceptual work that inscribes the Medina with its universal value among the near thousand other World Heritage sites worldwide. As I argued in the previous chapter, heritage places become a target of the preservationist apparatus the moment that they are identified as sites of universal value. That World Heritage sites are rhetorically broadcast as places of visitability that belong to the “heritage of humankind” moreover suggests a form of heritage mediation and thus a rhetorical re-shifting of both spatial and temporal bounds. As I pointed out, this does not merely happen on the abstract or conceptual level under the umbrella of universal heritage value, however, for locals rarely have a voice in determining which objects, sites, buildings, and monuments are worthy of preservation. As Harrison notes, “the transcendent category of heritage [as universally owned] is a means by which local stakeholders and communities with particular interest in heritage places can be excluded from having a role in making decisions about managing them.” The idea of universal value, in this sense, serves as a rhetorical operationalization of “Western notions of heritage management” in non-Western contexts, which can “conflict with local practices and living cultural traditions in such countries.”¹⁴⁰ In undergoing heritagization processes, curation for a global public, such sites no

¹⁴⁰ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 110. As addressed in the previous chapter, the rhetorical effects of World Heritage designation and its constitutive global place-making campaign and processes especially problematizes notions of living memory practices and thus identity work, and while I explore these effects in greater detail in the subsequent chapter below, it is important to note the mnemonic significance of such processes in relation to place and spatial practices.

longer retain their distinctly local heritage values. Suffusion of the preservationist apparatus re-shapes and safeguards these World Heritage narratives claims. No longer is this merely a process rendered by preservationist elites, then, for the touristic rhetorics ossify this conceptual and technical work through spatial practices, shifting the Medina from the necessarily fluid and local to the anachronistically heterotopic.

Through these various processes and points of intersection between global and local-level rhetorics, the Medina becomes a space written by and for the foreign other. Not only do the tourists re-appropriate these spaces through moving in and about the touristic circuit, however, for the preservationist apparatus is still actively employed on the materiality of the Medina by local preservationists. These local preservationists, although unaffiliated with UNESCO, still embody the World Heritage preservation ideal, viewing themselves as safeguards of the city and as those who have a better understanding of its heritage value than the locals.¹⁴¹ At face value, the Fassi take pride in the Medina's inscription as a World Heritage city as many of my interactions suggested. In the following section, however, I argue that the vernacular refrain that upholds and reproduces the World Heritage narrative is perhaps instead a mere performance and means of making do. However, preservationists seem to assume that, based on the Fassi's ostensible unconscious or willing participation in this narrative, that they do in fact fully support the preservationist effort (and indeed they may if they are able to make do). As such, the preservationists I engaged contend that although locals support the Medina's World Heritage narrative, the latter do not know what universal heritage or World Heritage designation means. The preservationists contend that the Fassi lack an understanding of the true value of preserving their own city. As one local preservationist put it, Davis (pseudonym), an American expatriate

¹⁴¹ As I will discuss more below, “local preservationists” are often elite in many ways, whether ex-pats who have been living in Fez for a portion of their lives, or privileged the Fassi who often received education outside of the country, and who no longer live in the Medina (but who still hold ties or own property therein).

who has been living and working in Fez for over 17 years, "no one actually cares about cultural heritage value. They only care about the tourist element. At the end of the day it's about making money, supporting their families, and about survival." That is, Davis suggests that the locals see no intrinsic value in the preservation of their heritage as it is materially represented, and thus such work requires experts as proxy to inform them, educate them, and lead them by example.

For Davis, heritage is defined and demarcated by his preservation practices. Restoring damaged buildings, monuments, and other material artifacts from the past using the museological processes that employ local techniques and materials to bring the past back into existence marks these material forms with heritage value. Apropos Harrison's notion of heritagization, this preservation process is also about maintaining a sustainable tourist framework that creates as minimal a footprint as possible (including the touristic circuit), of curating these material places for a touristic audience, and also of deterring or otherwise preventing locals from changing the façade or the general materiality of the medina. Davis has taken it upon himself to safeguard the material preservation of the city through his own contributions to the heritagization and restoration process. Walking through the medina, Davis showed me numerous "micro-restoration" projects that he has funded out of his personal finances, hiring locals who know the "old techniques" and locating materials that were consistent with building practices of an earlier age. He recognizes the unprecedented challenges that the preservationists have faced with constructing and managing the Medina of Fez as a World Heritage city. Most of these problems, he contends, emerge from what is deemed "worthy" of preservation, who is making such heritage value claims, and to what ultimate effects. That is, since being inscribed on the World Heritage list, most preservation projects in Fez are funded by international private sponsors or the Moroccan government. However, both the private sponsors and the government demand legible,

material results that will justify where their money and time is going, and thus the focus of such projects tends to favor monumental, highly public sites, such as madrasas, mosques, and other historical cultural landmarks. Not only do such monumental preservationist projects render legible, large-scale results for their sponsors, but they also serve to affirm the Medina of Fez as a place of visitability. Restoring and preserving such places re-enforces the rhetorical potency of the touristic prestige. The monument becomes the symbol for the tourists' visit. Indeed, many of these projects are marked for touristic visitation along the touristic circuit routes, and thus these projects are ostensibly also geared for the foreign other. While Davis does not reject the necessity of such projects, he asserts that focusing on the monumental leaves the smaller-scale preservation projects up to locals to take into their own hands, a sensibility that he identifies as distinctly lacking for most the Fassi living in the Medina. It is his belief that these smaller-scale projects should be given the same degree of attention as monumental projects. He thus considers the task of carrying out such micro-restoration projects as his own duty, a duty which also includes mobilizing educative rhetorics for training locals to see the value of preserving their material heritage.

Davis' assertion that locals need to treat "micro-restoration projects if they were monuments" points toward the centrality of material preservation as that which defines heritage value for preservationist actors. Despite his concern that international projects only focus on the large-scale and highly visible monuments and material project, he still places heritage value on material forms, albeit those on the micro-scale. Moreover, while Davis insists on using traditional techniques and materials in the micro-restoration projects that he finances, he is primarily concerned with maintaining the traditional aesthetics of the exterior façade, while using modern techniques to re-enforce the structure from within. Davis offered an anecdote that

spoke to his restoration philosophy. One day he noticed that his neighbor was fixing the door to his home, destroying the intricate wood carvings characteristic of most entryways in the Medina in the process. Davis, concerned with maintaining the original ornate aesthetic, offered to help finance a “proper” restoration. He hired a traditional woodcarver and purchased the materials to carry out the job, directing the project from beginning to end. To reinforce the strength of the door, he had the inside re-constructed with a metal plate, and then had the woodcarver re-do the exterior façade in the traditional fashion. As Davis explained, “there are two philosophies of preservation. To restore as much as possible, or the idea that new is good [and more sustainable] as long as the aesthetic of the façade” is maintained. Davis is clearly in love with the Medina, what it represents as a traditional Muslim city, and views such micro-restorations as important in keeping the full city alive for others to enjoy in the future. “If we don’t do something, all of this will go away,” he said, for the locals feel no sense of need to preserve their material heritage themselves. For Davis, the locals only care about making money from the tourists at the end of the day (“for them it’s about survival”), but they fail to understand that if the traditional aesthetic vanishes, that tourists will stop coming altogether. Davis, an expatriate who has been living in the Medina for many years, is concerned with safeguarding the heritage value of Fez and is representative of one of the primary local preservationist actor-types in the Medina. Ahmed (pseudonym) perhaps best represents the other primary preservationist actor-type.

Ahmed was born and raised in Fez to an upper class family that shares the bloodline with Idris II, the founder of Fez from over 1200 years ago. A true Fassi elite, then, he also currently holds a very prestigious position on a major national association for urban planning and architecture, restored his beautiful and ornate 400-year old riad located in the Medina, and is currently restoring other properties in the Medina as well. While he lives and works in

Casablanca a few hours away on the Moroccan coast, his love for the Medina is evident in the way he talks and moves about it, lauding it as the “pedestrian city par excellence” that should be used as a “prototype for all pedestrian cities” the world over.¹⁴² Consistent with a growing trend among other elites, Ahmed restored his riad in Fez as an artist and cultural residency program, using traditional materials and techniques throughout the full restoration process. The residency program hosts artists, musicians, and writers from throughout the world, giving them a place to sleep, eat, and work right in the Medina. The house is absolutely stunning, ornate in its perfectionist traditional Moroccan restored aesthetic, including its traditional open rough top terrace that overlooks the entire medina. We were fortunate enough to be the only guests in the eight-bedroom palatial home for the full month of the residency period.¹⁴³

Ahmed’s other primary property in the Medina is a dilapidated riad that he is currently restoring and re-purposing as an art gallery to display local crafts to touristic publics. For him, restoration is a matter of “social responsibility, and to giving back to the community,” a process that he believes necessitates the employment of local materials and techniques in order to preserve the traditions of the past for the sake of the future.¹⁴⁴ Through his networking and high elite status, Ahmed has banded together twelve other architects and urban planners who own and are restoring properties in the Medina to engage in this type of service work, while encouraging others from throughout the country to purchase, restore, and re-appropriate as well. Each of the twelve have agreed to the importance of restoring their homes using similar traditional practices and materials (without the use of modern materials like Davis advocates), and each has the

¹⁴² Ahmed invited my wife, Holland, and I to stay with him for a couple of nights in his home on the Atlantic Ocean. The informal conversations that informed this section took place over dinners while staying with him for this short period in Casablanca, at his riad in Fez, and during a few walks through the Medina that he and I took in order to meet some of his friends and see other restoration projects.

¹⁴³ My wife, Holland, a metals artist, was also accepted to the self-directed residency program to study traditional metalsmithing practices with a local master, a project that ultimately ended up contributing to this thesis as well, especially the subsequent chapter.

¹⁴⁴ For him, using traditional materials allows the city to “breathe” and ties the Medina to the mountains and countryside where these materials are harvested from.

intention of re-appropriating these places as spaces for touristic publics. Most of them are planning on re-appropriating these currently dilapidated riads as boutique guest houses for tourists in order to offer an experience of a brief moment of life in the Medina, complete with employing locals to offer traditional meals in-house to bolster the Moroccan experience.

Both Davis and Ahmed believe in the community service nature of restoration and preservation and, despite differences in preservation philosophy, of using traditional techniques and practices to preserve the material artifacts and aesthetics of the Medina. Moreover, they are also similar in that they see material preservation as accommodating to tourist desires and experiences, whether in Davis' case of maintaining the aesthetic façade or Ahmed whose aim is to build a touristic infrastructure around a traditional Moroccan experience in a restored riad. So, if the preservationist apparatus demarcates heritage value to be chiefly tied up with the materiality of the Medina, the two different preservation philosophies have different things to say with regard to what that means. Davis, on the one hand, employs a *superficial preservation* approach. Restoring only the external façade of the material places and artifacts of the Medina, the superficial preservation philosophy entails only restoring the appearance of heritage places; heritage, as its defined by what is preserved, in such a view becomes caught up with mere aesthetics. In such contexts, heritage could be said to be only skin deep – beneath which is a modern sensibility written in a re-enforcing metal plate and only for the sake of persuading foreign onlookers of the authentic nature of the Medina's façade.

Constituting the other philosophy is Ahmed and the twelve architects and their *instrumental preservation* of material heritage. Their projects of restoring, preserving, and re-purposing dilapidated riads as boutique guest houses for touristic leisure fosters a place-based rhetoric. It materially suggests that heritage preservation is intended for tourists, while their

consumptive practices are what in fact belong to the locals. That is, since preservation resources are being mobilized to restore thirteen traditional houses, not for locals to live in, but for tourists to move through and utilize to access the experiential, heritage in its material form becomes that which is for the foreign other. On the other hand, locals are those who are monetarily benefitting from the touristic presence, however minimally at times, whether through increased traffic and patronage for street vendor stalls, restaurants, or services rendered. The instrumental philosophy, in this sense, while geared toward accommodating tourists, does so with the intentions of aiding locals through the commoditization of heritage value. In other words, such preservationists may not be restoring the materiality of the Medina for local usage and instead for touristic pleasure, but it is the former whose livelihood depends on such preservation and global transmission rhetorics. But in creating the conditions for the Medina to be transformed into such an “astonishing city museum,” these heritage objects become imbued with alien meanings through the tourists' spatial practices and uses of the old city.

The Medina emerges as a World Heritage heterotopia through all of these bottom-up processes. Those who carry out preservation efforts—superficial or instrumental in scope—and who focus on restoring the materiality of the Medina thus define and demarcate heritage as essentially material in form. These discursive enactments are given further legitimacy and meaning through the spatial stories that are re-written and inscribed through pedestrian rhetorics along and across the touristic rhetoric. Heritage in its material form is heritage that is for the foreign other: for touring, viewing, consuming, and temporally living in. Removed from its contingent narratives and re-positioned among a global network of heritage sites, the Medina as such becomes an “[other place] of indefinitely accumulating time.”¹⁴⁵ Touring the Medina and staying in its “authentic” tourist boutiques offers a “rediscovery” of Moroccan life, “yet the

¹⁴⁵ Michael Foucault, *Of Other Spaces*, pp. 6 - 7.

experience is just as much the rediscovery of time..." given these preservationist material efforts that aim to arrest time and put it on display. "[I]t is as if the entire history of humanity reaching back to its origin were accessible in a sort of immediate knowledge."¹⁴⁶ Tourists flow in and out, rarely staying long enough to tell a deeper tale, instead re-telling the same mobile and narrow stories along improvised pathways, redacted spatial possibilities, and touristic desires.¹⁴⁷ The touristic circuit grounds the heterotopia in this manner, giving way to pedestrian rhetorics enunciated from foreign bodies moving in local space. Bolstered by a preservationist focus that privileges the materiality of heritage and re-appropriates it for touristic accommodations, these narratives do not merely circulate through bodies moving in space then, but are also imbued and concretized in these preservation projects. They become the material symbols that feedback to the narratives that touristic pedestrians tell through walking.

Down in the Thick of Things: Co-Constructing Spaces of the Other

Thus far I have suggested a relatively passive role that the Fassi have with regard to their use of heritage places and aesthetics in the Medina, and how the spatial practices of tourists and material preservation practices geared toward tourists re-narrates the meanings of local space. Together, when the local is re-appropriated for the foreign other, such meaning-making work renders heterotopic effects. However, the remainder of this chapter discusses how locals navigate the Medina, subvert its preservationist logics through micro-practices of making do, and subtly re-purpose heritage aesthetics and material touristic structures (such as the tourist network) for their own contingent needs and meanings. Framed in a Certeauian spirit, this final section of this chapter is "concerned with battles or games between the strong and the weak, and with the

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ The average stay for a tourist in the Medina is 2.2 days, hardly enough time to articulate a deeper spatial re-writing of the city. "Vision 2020 for Tourism in Morocco: Raise the destination to be in the top twenty of the touristic destinations in the world," Department of Tourism, Morocco, 2010.

‘actions’ which remain possible for the latter..., [and with] the very activity of ‘making do.’”¹⁴⁸

Continuing to draw from my conversations as well as observations, the following account continues to draw from my own experience moving through the Medina as an embodied tourist, a positionality that afforded me a space to view the Medina’s local and vernacular practitioners from ground level.

Walking in the Medina, following the touristic circuit along the Monuments and Souks (i.e. markets) route, the foreign body serves as a rhetorical symbol that elicits a ready-made discourse or set of discursive responses from the locals. Locals are used to tourists moving through the Medina’s spaces, often times without a guide and instead simply following one of the five paths that constitute the touristic circuit. The different color signs that mark each individual circuit are bolstered by the locals who interact with the touristic presence and help to lead them along the ready-made path: “the tannery is that way,” is a common refrain, pointing foreigners in the direction of the highly famous leather tannery (the oldest active tannery in the world), toward al-Qarawiyyin Mosque (the oldest university in the world), or other monuments demarcated as touristic stop offs.

The Caucasian body is the visibly dominant foreign presence in the Medina, and certainly no less the case with myself.¹⁴⁹ This positionality allows for easy navigation of the city, for it is a common symbol of relative wealth, privilege, and leisure that the Fassi have no doubt come to see as a financial resource. Whether as a consumer of trinkets and souvenirs, one who wishes to see the sites, or perhaps find an “authentic” place to eat, the touristic body represents a ripe and ready opportunity. Most locals, at least those who position themselves along the paths of the

¹⁴⁸ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁴⁹ This is not to suggest that there are only white tourists that come to Fez. In fact, a large portion of their tourist presence is constituted by Moroccans who live in other Moroccan cities, which speaks to the truly unique nature of the Medina as a place of visitability.

touristic circuit, speak enough English, French or Spanish to converse on a basic level, especially on those topics that pertain to selling and buying goods and services. Deeply tanned and fully bearded in my summer travels, my own body perhaps functioned as an even more welcoming and available rhetorical symbol, allowing me to access the spaces of interaction between locals and foreigners in local space. I was never identified as a local by any means, always a tourist, but the question of my uncertain origin allowed me to move more freely and access a different set of discourses and associations than perhaps the whiter and beardless body could afford. I was often asked if I was a visiting Muslim, particularly if I was from Iran, but at times I was confused as a Spaniard as well. The language barrier was indeed a limitation for this project for a number of obvious reasons. However, embodying and owning my positionality as a supposed tourist afforded me an opportunity that was unexpected, as I found that the World Heritage discourse emerges between local and foreign bodies without being readily provoked.

In the Medina, it is common to come across dilapidated buildings supported with wood scaffolding, entire buildings gutted out and being restored with traditional materials, in-progress micro-restorations of fountains or doors, and other preservation projects. On numerous occasions when I asked locals about who was conducting these restorations, the common refrain was that they were UNESCO projects. Despite the lack of a physical representation in the Medina in terms of offices, hired preservationists, or signage, UNESCO appears in these discursive spaces of interaction between the tourist-body and the local. This was also consistent with other interactions where I did not ask such direct questions. From the man working at the tannery who referred to Fez as a “city of common heritage” and who informed me that the tannery was “protected by UNESCO” (which is not the case); to one of my unofficial tour guides who mentioned the “universal heritage” that characterizes the Medina; to those who identified any

and all restoration and preservation projects as belonging to UNESCO. It seems as though the Medina as a World Heritage city exists in these discursive spaces that manifest in the encounters between local actors and foreign bodies in local space. World Heritage is an imagined idea and utopic in concept alone, but is given extra meaning and put into being in such interactional spaces. In this, the heterotopic disembeddedness and temporally discontinuous nature of the Medina is a discursive function that, while anchored by objects and materials of preservationist concern, primarily arises from the meeting and moving of bodies: local and other. On a face value reading, that locals recite and embody this discourse without being provoked points to the deep level that the World Heritage apparatus suffuses the scene. Power relations normalize discourses and ways of sense making, and that which seemingly comes from the top down—in this instance from the World Heritage idea down to Fez—in fact works its way up from interstices, from everyday enactments and ways of engaging the other. But such relations are never totalizing or monolithic, and thus the “weak” are still afforded opportunities to break through the fissures within this grid of making sense. Moreover, as I have suggested, normalized does not necessitate an unconscious act, and in the case of the Medina this normalized discourse is perhaps performative instead.

That is, I contend that the reproduction of this dominant narrative on the local-level is instead merely a means of making do. Those who have little recourse to heritage decision making in terms of what should be preserved and how it should be narrated, uphold the dominant narratives of universal value and heritage of humankind on the level of mere performance, albeit performance with a purpose. Here, the Fassi do not re-produce the World Heritage narrative merely through unknowing consent and false consciousness. For the Fassi, instead, since the tourist presence represents an opportunity for financial gain, and since there is little chance to

alter or overtake the symbolic order, it is ostensibly in their best interest to 'play along' with heritage tourism and its narratives. This tactical exploitation of foreign bodies is similar to the product of superficial preservation, then, and is thus a discourse that is only skin deep, merely a façade. While perhaps only performative though, it is still a discourse that exists and gives meaning to the world, and thus which alters the narrative that defines the Medina. So, the foreign body indeed functions as a rhetorical symbol that induces the World Heritage discourse from local actors. However, it is a discourse that is intentional and performed by design for the sake of getting something back from the tourists, but which still gives way to heterotopic effects. Utopic in concept alone, the World Heritage city manifests disembedded in space and time, co-constructed by local and foreign actors, narrated by practice, and concretized in material forms.

On another though similar note, the foreign body moving through local space also begs the question of being lost, for being lost in the Medina is a daily occurrence, it is the norm. There are numerous travel websites, from personal blogs to official forums such as TripAdvisor and Lonely Planet that recommend “getting lost” in the Medina as a cultural experience. In fact, there is an entire thread titled “Getting Lost in the Medina of Fez” that has been rated by nearly 1,500 TripAdvisor members, two-thirds of whom rate the experience as “Excellent,” sharing personal narratives that speak to these moments of cutting across the touristic circuit map and ignoring the color-coded signs.¹⁵⁰ As Ahmed pointed out, a veritable vernacular historian of the city, there are over 9,000 “roads” in the 1.15 square miles of enclosed space in the Medina, with no discernible pattern or intelligible infrastructure to find one’s bearings. Even when he was showing me to his friend’s riad in the center of the Medina, there were at least two points where he became lost and had to ask one of the vendors which way to go. “I have lived here since I

¹⁵⁰ It is actually ranked and listed as the “#1 Attraction” in Fez. “Getting Lost in the Medina of Fez: A Review of Medina of Fez,” TripAdvisor, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g293733-d318051-r135662541-Medina_of_Fez-Fes_Fes_Boulemane_Region.html.

was this big,” he said, measuring waist-high with his hand, “and I still get lost. The Medina is like nowhere else in the world. You can always find something new.”

The ease of getting lost, along with the highly competitive and often confrontational local tour guide services (whether official or unofficial), is what Davis claims served as the impetus for building the touristic circuit. Such competition and potential confrontation is elided by the notion that tourists can now come to Fez and autonomously find their own way to the tannery, the various mosques and madrasas, and other material cultural sites of heritage significance. Instead, getting lost now constitutes spatial practices of "cutting across the grid" and redacting the meanings laid out in the touristic circuit. In this drive to discover something new through such improvisations, these foreign pedestrian rhetorics tell their own stories that are written in the unmarked spaces of the Medina without the fear of falling too far off the map;¹⁵¹ soon enough, no matter how "lost" one becomes in the Medina, it is only a matter of time until another marked route within the circuit appears. While the touristic circuit provides a stable narrative foundation that tourists can utilize as an anchor and palimpsest for creative re-writing, the circuit is pushed back against by locals who ostensibly view it as a threat to their livelihood as tour guides and cultural brokers.¹⁵² As a result, Davis asserts that locals are commonly known to surreptitiously climb the walls and tear down the signs marking the five routes, leaving the tourist with the option of remaining lost, which is undesirable without the familiar anchor of the sign, to find their way on their own to the next monument—a near impossible task—or paying an

¹⁵¹ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 96 - 99.

¹⁵² The locals seemingly all know one another, and they are commonly working with one another through one formal or informal arrangement or another. It is impossible to walk through the Medina as a foreign body without being invited to see the goods in someone's uncle's shop, in a friend's restaurant, in a souk that is "just around the corner." Local tour guides—both official and unofficial—have deals worked out with many of these shops, and they often get a small sum of money for simply bringing tourists to their vendor stall, regardless if any purchase is made. Moreover, many shopkeepers fake not knowing English in order for the tour guide to serve as the negotiator, often because they are more proficient with the language and with the skills of negotiation. Indeed, then, local tour guides—and almost everyone is a tour guide or is a potential tour guide—function as cultural brokers, that buy and sell, promote and advocate, negotiate and bargain for tourists who are seeking to purchase an experience or a mnemonic token of an experience.

always already available local guide to lead them to their intended destination. These "tricky and stubborn procedures... elude discipline without being outside the field in which it is exercised" and become modes of "everyday life" in "lived space," modalities that exploit a horizon of opportunity for the discursively subordinate locals.¹⁵³ The Fassi recognize the economic import of the touristic presence, and make do with what the dominant system affords them in order to exploit this nascent resource. Tourists, as a result, require the local in order to successfully move about the labyrinthine Medina and find what they are looking and hoping to see.

The absence of the expected sign makes an argument for the need of one. With a destination in mind, a monumental end point to the spatial dialogue of walking in the Medina, the Fassi agent seeks to fill in the conversational gap that the missing touristic circuit marker has betrayed and given way to. "Tannery is that way. Here, you will follow me. I can take you there," asserts one local as he comes to me, the tourist, as hired navigator and guide. And so begins a new dialogue, a new set of signs now embodied and spoken, no longer hung on the wall with a familiar color-coded symbol, but coming from the body of the local-other in reaction to the my body. The local thus not only re-produces the World Heritage narrative, then, but situates himself as an embodied component within the touristic circuit itself. It is a performance that the absence of the stolen circuit sign gives way to, and which affords the local an opportunity to benefit from this absence and his recitation of the dominant narrative.¹⁵⁴ Following the guide

¹⁵³ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 96. As de Certeau writes, and similar to Scott's notion of how resistance works within the field of ideological domination, "the system in which [locals] move about is too vast to be able to fix them in one place, but too constraining for them ever to be able to escape from it and go into exile elsewhere." That is, resistance, here asserted in the language of tactics, can never take place from some point of exteriority, but instead can only make use of what the dominant order lends itself to in fleeting moments of rupture. Ibid, p. 40.

¹⁵⁴ This is not to suggest that without the touristic presence that the locals could not survive. Such a claim would be impossible to make of course and would be troublingly implicating a paternalistic sensibility. As one of my unofficial tour guides candidly told me after I earned his trust and was invited to have dinner with his family, some tourists overpay for unofficial tours by so much that he only has to find one "customer" for that week. He laughs about it, but is concerned because recently tourists have become more informed and are better at negotiating, saying no, or paying a much lower price. My instinct is that this is a result of online travel forums that speak to how much one should expect to pay for various services in the Medina, and how to effectively ward off a local's proposition for an unofficial tour or other service.

along, the same travel narratives, histories, and tourist brochures and forums studied before arriving in the Medina are all known and recited by the local in real time. There is little room for agency in such dialogues on the part of the embodied tourist at this point, instead moving in tandem with the guide as spatial counterpart and constructing the heterotopia and heritage narrative from below in the process. As he narrates and names the monuments that are encountered along the trail, flash backs of the narratives learned prior to entering the Medina are rhetorically elicited and re-inscribed into the spaces being traversed. My faux local guide has no doubt memorized many of these discourses for the sake of the touristic other. Given all of this, while the material privilege of preservation and the spatial practices of tourists lend to heterotopic effects, the performative participation of locals in the tourists' spatial narratives and as embodiments of the circuit re-inscribe this heterotopic process from the inside as well—even if they only exist at the performative level of making do.

Conclusion

The Medina of Fez as a World Heritage city emerges in discursive spaces of interaction, in materials demarcated as the foci of preservation, and is given meaning through pedestrian rhetorics and engagement with the other. To repeat, Fassi participation in upholding the dominant narratives does not mean to imply that locals are without agency in toto. Through discursive and participatory performances that uphold the World Heritage idea, and taking advantage of those fleeting ruptures in real time, locals are able to assert their being and actuate the potentiality of a fleeting opportunity for their own benefit, if only minimal. This implicit assertion of local subjectivities suggests that locals are not mere passive spectators of their own discursive domination. Instead, these participatory performances work in tandem with tourist

spatial practices and these other symbolic inducements above to co-construct the Medina as a World Heritage heterotopia as a co-imagined space as deep as the intricacies of a reflection.

The following chapter moves even closer to ground level to engage the other "living," homogeneous half of the World Heritage city qua heterotopia. In particular, while the above discussion focused on preservation and tourist-Fassi interactions, this following chapter will address living memory practices. The preservationist apparatus is chiefly concerned with control over space and also time over the demarcation of a universal heritage frozen in a temporal drift and concretized in the materiality of the Medina. On the other hand, the "weak," as Certeau calls them, live and move in a temporal field that has been forgotten and pushed aside by these spatial articulations of the "strong." As I will argue, they do not see heritage value as caught up in or with material artifacts, objects, and monuments, but instead with the kinesthetic, experiential, felt, and sensorial dimensions of living memory. This is not to suggest a material-practice, tangible-intangible dichotomy, but instead to think of memory production in terms of the spaces and relations between these various elements. The Medina of Fez as World Heritage city exists in spaces of interaction and engagement, and is bolstered by the material and aesthetic foci of preservationists. A delimited discursive and spatial field, a heterotopic set of relations, these articulations of power have profound effects on those who live beneath the threshold of the World Heritage apparatus: the elements that fall beneath that which it attaches itself to, marks, and re-defines. This following and penultimate chapter addresses such effects, and seeks to tease out the mnemonic rift fostered by the ontological confrontation of living memory with heritage preservation.

Chapter 4

Unraveling "Memory Circuits": Diminution of Heritage Production

"Those who seek a past as sound as a bell forget that bells need built-in imperfections to bring out their individual resonances."

-- David Lowenthal, *Fabricating Heritage*¹⁵⁵

Restoring and preserving the materiality and the aesthetics of the Medina of Fez assumes that heritage is chiefly caught up and represented by monuments, buildings, and other artifacts that constitute its objective urban fabric. "Beleaguered by loss and change," Lowenthal writes, "we keep our bearings only by clinging to remnants of stability."¹⁵⁶ Such "[t]angible mementos and documentary traces threaten to swamp creative life... invites passive reliance on received authority, imperils rational inquiry, [and] replaces past realities with feel-good history."¹⁵⁷ For Lowenthal, the material privilege of heritage preservation elides or otherwise obviates alternative articulations of what is heritage is everyday life and practice. Preservationist elites in the Medina, as I suggested in the previous chapter, tend to assume that Fassi have minimal understanding of the cultural value of preserving their own heritage. These elites have the authority to determine what is to be preserved, and tend to focus such efforts on accommodating tourists and anchoring heritage in material and aesthetic "tangible" things. By privileging the materiality of heritage and curating such heritage for the foreign other, locals can only ever have an indirect relation to these privileged places. When local heritage becomes for the foreign other, and when the narratives that suffuse the discursive scene are written by the pedestrian rhetorics of foreign bodies in local space, these processes and mobilities concretize heritage meanings and render heterotopic effects. The construction of this "other space" is further made manifest by locals who uphold and

¹⁵⁵ "Fabricating Heritage," *History & Memory*, 10, 1, (1998): pp. 5 - 24.

¹⁵⁶ *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

reproduce this dominant narrative through their own discursive participation, even if only performative.

However, to suggest that locals are merely performing the World Heritage discourse suggests a level of agency and thus autonomous subjectivity in these practice of making do. As such, and as Laurajane Smith points out, “in recognizing the subjectivities of heritage, it becomes necessary to destabilize the idea of the objectivity of heritage.”¹⁵⁸ It requires thinking in terms of heritage from a local perspective that moves beneath the dominant discourse endemic of World Heritage to find how heritage is otherwise articulated, lived, felt, and produced. Accordingly, this chapter moves closer to ground level to locate alternative understandings of heritage value that counter the dominant narrative of heritage as materiality and for the foreign other. To be sure, this is not to set up a material-immaterial, tangible-intangible dichotomy by any means. For as Smith asserts, “heritage is something vital and alive. It is a moment of action, not something frozen in material form... [yet] it incorporates a range of actions that often occur *at* places or *in* certain spaces.”¹⁵⁹ While heritage is not exclusively bound up with material symbols, then, an understanding of heritage as *active* does not presuppose doing away with the materiality of heritage altogether or setting up false binaries. Instead, it requires thinking of how these spaces and places are related to the production of heritage, rather than symbolically representative of them. As Smith writes, “these places become places of heritage both because of the events of meaning making and remembering that occur at them, but also because they lend a sense of occasion and reality to activities occurring at them.” Indeed, heritage is not in itself the material representations privileged by preservationists, but these places and material symbols still play a significant role in heritage practices. Destabilizing the objectivity of heritage is thus

¹⁵⁸ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 53.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 83, emphasis mine.

not a project of moving away from material articulations of heritage value altogether. Instead, it calls for building an understanding of how these otherwise static sites and artifacts are used within and alongside a broader relational ensemble of practices in the meaning-making and memory work that constitutes heritage production.

Important implications for heritage preservation can be drawn here and which this chapter will explore. Proffering heritage as “*not* [just] about the *past*, but instead about the relationship with the *present* and the *future*” re-frames heritage production as an essentially mnemonic, rhetorical, community, and identity-building process.¹⁶⁰ It requires recognizing that heritage is not a passive object to be managed through a finely delineated and articulate preservationist apparatus. Accordingly, it becomes necessary to shift the focus from the exclusive privileging of the materiality of heritage in stasis, to *how* such material symbols are related to the intangible, active practices of heritage meaning making. To do so is a means of recognizing the fluid, mobile *process* of heritage transmission, how and where it is lived and performed, passed on through memory work, and, when necessary, forgotten. Borrowing from Aden et al, it requires identifying the “reciprocal and interrelated interaction among the people who remember, the places where they house their memories, and the contexts in which this remembering occurs,” and which together foments continuous heritage parturition.¹⁶¹ For Harrison, this calls for a re-thinking of heritage preservation as a “future-oriented, emergent, contingent and creative endeavor.”¹⁶² The challenge for preservationists, he suggests, “becomes finding ways of engaging creatively with [heritage] objects so as to facilitate their ongoing

¹⁶⁰ *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ “A proposal for refining the study of collective memory,” p. 313. While Aden et al. provide a context and call for action that suggests future directions in rhetorical studies’ engagement with memory, this project leaves them behind at this point. There are indeed connections between the type of work that they are proposing and the arguments that will ground this chapter, in particular, thinking about the “ongoing processes” of memory and how memory is performed in place rather than place statically narrative narratives. However, I take a different direction than their suggestion for the use of Michael McGee and his notion of fragments, and do while this project does, to an extent, take up their call, I take it only at a face value level.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 222.

relationships with people and the other objects around them in the future.”¹⁶³ In such a view, heritage preservation no longer becomes a task of arresting time and restoring the past in an uninterrupted heterotopic present. Instead, identifying the living, performative symbols at the heart of a given community is central to Harrison's preservationist re-figuring. It also suggests that heritage, while *tangible* in its material forms, should be re-considered as *intangible* in practice—preserved in an emergent fluid space between people, places, objects, and memories—and the rhetorical work that such practices afford.

This chapter will identify alternative local scenes where heritage is lived, felt, remembered, and practiced. It will aim to untangle and identify the various elements that constitute heritage production that are drawn from local provenance. Shifting the discussion from heritage *preservation* to *production* implies a shift from an arresting and freezing process to an active and moving process. This is not to move away from an idea of preservation in full, but rather to re-think preservation as a continuous process of sustaining the meaning produced by and through these active relations. To this end, this chapter engages local spaces and local actors' means of *doing* heritage in everyday life in the Medina of Fez, which in itself is a means of preserving or sustaining heritage. While in the previous chapter I argued that the touristic circuit grounds the heterotopia through the spatial practices of foreign others, below I proffer that the production of heritage also works through a mnemonic circuitous relation—in *memory circuits*—between intangible and tangible elements and practices in local contexts. I define "memory circuits" as fluid networks composed of heterogeneous though mutually serving material and intangible elements—bodies, practices, experiences, affects, artifacts, places, the various dimensions of place, etc. —that together produce and sustain cultural meanings and identities. These elements are all bound up with one another, filter meanings and memories between,

¹⁶³ Ibid.

across, and through each other, and are thus constitutively interanimative. The individual elements that make up a given memory circuit are in a constant state of ebb and flow; some recede into the background as others come to the fore, and thus the emotive, evocative, and affective force produced by these circuits is always in flux. However, given that these elements are inextricably connected and mutually supportive, to remove or alter any individual element modifies the rendered mnemonic effect: the heritage produced and preserved. Memory circuits, I will argue, are a mode of local heritage preservation that houses and sustains heritage meanings in the space between their constitutive heterogeneous elements. To flesh out this concept, I engage in conversations with a number of local actors in this chapter to get a better sense of how memory practices and heritage preservation are viewed on ground level in relation to metalsmithing practices.¹⁶⁴ Along the way, I continue my discussion and inquiry into the motivations and desires of heritage tourists, the effects of foreign bodies moving through local space, and on different accounts of memory practices from both old and younger generations.

In all, this chapter engages the relations between the sensorial, kinesthetic, affective, embodied, and emplaced dimensions of local heritage production, how such circuitous relations foster heritage transmission, and how the modification of these memory circuits effects meaning-making work. Through this discussion and in making these connections, I build on Laurajane's smith assertion that "all heritage is ultimately intangible" in an effort to destabilize the material privilege of heritage preservation.¹⁶⁵

Intangible Heritage Practices, Memories on the Move

¹⁶⁴ I was fortunate enough to be invited to present a short lecture and co-lead a graduate and undergraduate forum on heritage and memory in the Medina during my short month-long residency. This afforded an opportunity to engage both college-aged adults over questions concerning heritage, as well as members of the older generation through a connection that I made with one of these students. The focus of these talks dealt with heritage, identity and craft as heritage practice. The Medina of Fez is home to one of the world's longest ongoing metalsmithing traditions, reportedly dating back over 1,000 years. While there are various craft traditions in the Medina that are chiefly tied up with Fassi identity, I focus exclusively on metalsmithing practices, the various elements that comprise the memory circuits which produce its cultural meanings and identity work, and consider the contemporary and future state of this tradition in the purview of heritage preservation.

¹⁶⁵ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 307.

Destabilizing the material privilege of heritage preservation requires a re-thinking of heritage practices and the identity and mnemonic work they afford. In this sense, it further suggests a need to re-define the meaning of heritage production through re-considering the role of spaces and places in relation to such practices, and to move away from the privileged centrality of tangible heritage places. As Smith writes, “the materiality of heritage is itself a brutally physical statement... of the power, universality, objectivity, and cultural attainment of the possessors of that heritage.” It serves to “mask” the ways in which the official heritage narrative as a mode of visibility “constructs, regulates and authorizes a range of identities and values by...” being inscribed in “inanimate material heritage.” As a result of this material heritage statement, Smith argues, other forms of intangible heritage and the subjectivities that are not represented by the material symbol are “rendered invisible or marginal, or simply less ‘real.’”¹⁶⁶ Moreover, this material focus de-privileges the rhetorical dimensions of kinesthetic practices, performative articulations, and affective resonances of memory work, placing them always already as a *secondary condition* of place and not within the purview of official heritage narratives and preservation efforts. As Lowenthal writes, “heritage crusades are more apt to conjure up images of castles and cathedrals than of quatrains and cookery,” a notion which reflects the “Western mania for material objects as heritage.”¹⁶⁷ Maniacal in its lust for shoring up memory places of historical and aesthetic weight, the preservationist apparatus forces a forgetfulness that not all memories are so readily measured.

This is not to suggest that memory places and objects, like the monuments and other material forms in the Medina of Fez, are unworthy of preservation; heritage places and objects are inextricably bound up with identity narratives, spatial practices, and cultural meanings.

¹⁶⁶ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 83.

¹⁶⁷ *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 19.

Indeed, Zeynep Turan argues that "forming attachments to objects in the aftermath of displacement allows individuals to reconstruct memory and reclaim identity." These "objects of legacy," Turan suggests, become "symbols of cultural traditions" that "encode continuity between and across generations... and provide an enduring bond to a homeland and culture in diaspora [sic]."¹⁶⁸ Here, Turan implicitly speaks a language of heritage preservation, and insightfully recognizes that these objects of legacy "*transcend their tangible quality*" in the memory and identity work they afford.¹⁶⁹ She recognizes that such objects only have heritage value insofar as they are positioned as an intangible relational tool between people and places, the past and the present. On the other hand, Smith, and others in critical heritage studies, have argued that the World Heritage program imposes a false dichotomy between material and intangible heritage. The program's inability to see meaning beyond the stone and mortar is a form of cultural violence that threatens other, non-Western understandings of heritage. Current trends in this nascent discipline are aiming to uncouple this false binary and re-situate heritage preservation within the productive interrelation between people, places, and practices.¹⁷⁰ Smith, while arguing against the materiality of heritage and such binary constraints, instead asserts that "all heritage is intangible."

Through her ethnographic work with the Waanyi women in Australia, she suggests that memory places, while not *exclusively* symbolic of heritage meanings, still serve an important role in "vernacular heritage preservation" as spaces of heritage performance.¹⁷¹ To this end, Smith asks, "If heritage is something that is done, what then is done? There is no one defining action or moment of heritage, but rather a range of activities that include remembering,

¹⁶⁸ "Material memories of the Ottoman Empire," in K. Phillips & M. Reyes (eds.), *Global Memoryscapes*, pp. 174 - 176

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 176, emphasis mine.

¹⁷⁰ This project is consistent with this effort, and so I return to this notion in much more detail below. Ibid, cf. Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 2013; David Berliner, "Multiple nostalgias: The fabric of heritage in Luang Prabang," *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, (2012), 18: pp. 769 - 786; *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 1998;

¹⁷¹ I return to this below. *Uses of Heritage*, pp. 54 - 57.

commemoration, communicating, and passing on knowledge and memories, asserting and expressing identity, and performing social and cultural values and meanings.”¹⁷² For her, such process are necessarily intangible and active, and constitute a vernacular form of heritage preservation as performance or production. In addition to meaning-making and identity work, as Smith points out, “[t]he product... of heritage activities are the emotions..., experiences and the memories... they create. [W]hat are also created, and continually recreated (rather than simply maintained), are social networks and relations that themselves bind and create a sense of belonging and [collective] identity.”¹⁷³ Not only do intangible practices of vernacular heritage preservation serve as important mnemonic and rhetorical resources for building and maintaining identity and meaning, memories and affect. Such practices also furnish the rhetorical conditions for sustaining relations between people with one another and with the places in which they live, or in Turan's case, where they lived in the past. Instead of a top-down notion of how place and materiality effect and shape practices, then, this shift in focus requires thinking of the practice of heritage preservation as a bottom-up process of doing the past in the present for the sake of the future, and how these practices shape and give meaning to place and connect people.

Illuminating what such a preservation model might look like, Smith advances a vernacular, local-level form of heritage preservation that she realized through her work with the Waanyi community. Through her ethnographic field work, Smith followed the women to the Boodjamulla, a nationally protected heritage landscape that has close ties to this community's history and sense of identity. She came to the project with the aim of uncovering how this place functioned for and within this living community as a symbol of heritage value. Instead, she found that the place, while important, was secondary to the practices and experiences that took

¹⁷² Ibid, pp. 83-84.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

place there. Particularly, she asserts that the oral histories that were passed down from the older to the younger generation at this place were of central significance. The place, while important, was treated instead as a “‘theater of memory’ ... [which] provided the background, setting, gravitas and, most importantly, a sense of occasion for those both passing on and receiving cultural meaning, knowledge, and memories.” That is, while the physical setting of the place mattered to these women, it was “the use of these sites that made them [a part of their] heritage...”, and the idea that engaging in this circuitous memory and meaning-making work at this special place re-constituted the place *as* meaningful. As such, she concludes, “passing on the oral histories and traditions” at this particular heritage place, “was [in itself]... an act of heritage management,” a means of “asserting identity” and creating “new memories” in the process.¹⁷⁴ In this sense, she argues that it is often the “banal and the vernacular,” the “common-place symbols and everyday activities and habits” that do the work of heritage at heritage places.¹⁷⁵ Heritage is not endemic of any of these elements in themselves—practices, bodies, stories, places—but is constituted by the intangible dimensions that such work affords. Heritage is thus able to be preserved between and through mobile practices of sustaining these memory circuits.

Others have also been considering and engaging the intangible nature of heritage in heritage studies’ family of literature in recent years.¹⁷⁶ Due to this attention and to appeals from non-Western heritage experts, recognition of the cultural salience of intangible heritage even spurred UNESCO to create a category of “intangible heritage” for World Heritage listing in

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 45– 46.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 48 – 49.

¹⁷⁶ Jean-Loupe Amselle, “Intangible heritage and contemporary African Art,” *Museum International*, 2004, 56(1-2): pp. 84 – 89; Bill Boyd, Maria Cotter, Wave O’Connor, Dana Sattler, “Cognitive ownership of heritage places: Social construction and cultural heritage management,” in __; Dina Bumbaru, “Tangible and intangible: The obligation and desire to remember,” at http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/bumbaru_eng.htm; Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 2013; others.

2003. As defined in UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage:

Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.¹⁷⁷

In the past decade since this category was recognized, 327 intangible heritage “elements” have been added to the World Heritage list, particularly in non-Western contexts. Inscriptions include everything from songs, dances, cooking techniques, oral traditions, various knowledges, and crafts and skills, to festivals and celebrations, rituals, performances, writing practices, forms of poetry, and much more.¹⁷⁸ However, many have raised concern over the “potential fossilization of cultural practice” and fears of such practices becoming “meaningless” or stifled as a result of their inscription and subsequent management.¹⁷⁹ Others have critiqued this category expansion as representing merely a “reorganization of the universal categories of World Heritage, rather than a fundamental revision of the classificatory system” itself. Furthermore, critics contend that the Convention “continues a [dichotomous] separation of objects, buildings, and places from the practices and traditions associated with them.”¹⁸⁰ Such an empty category expansion and a material-practice, tangible-intangible dualism, Harrison argues, suggests that such a category expansion constitutes merely an effort to maintain the universality of the World Heritage idea as opposed to a fundamental shift in heritage epistemologies. For Harrison, the “category of

¹⁷⁷ UNESCO, 2003, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=EN&pg=00022>

¹⁷⁸ “Lists of intangible cultural heritage and Register of best safeguarding practices,” UNESCO. March 20, 2014. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00559>.

¹⁷⁹ Peter Nas, “Masterpieces of oral and intangible culture: Reflections on the UNESCO World Heritage list,” *Current Anthropology*, 43, 1 (2002), p. 143.

¹⁸⁰ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, pp. 136-137.

‘intangible heritage’... [constitutes] listing and archiving as an end in itself” and of treating intangible heritage in the same manner as material heritage.¹⁸¹ In all such critiques, however, the call for engaging communities living within World Heritage sites through field work and ethnographies proliferates. Such critics call for further research to be conducted on locals’ vernacular conceptions of how or if their intangible heritage practices, performances and skills are affected or otherwise threatened by being inscribed on the list, and to identify alternative models of heritage preservation.

Smith, championing such efforts while reflecting on her work with the Waanyi, persuasively argues for the need to consider alternative means of heritage management and preservation. Her project productively works against how the World Heritage program’s “international classification of heritage” represents a distinct dichotomy between material and intangible heritage. Through her work, she “marr[ies] these two concepts of heritage... [and] redefine[s] *all heritage as inherently intangible*.”¹⁸² For Smith, the subject of *any* preservation campaign is not the materials or practices of heritage per se, but rather the emotions, memories, and cultural meanings that these objects and performance are inscribed with, foster, and represent. As Smith writes, “it is the value and meaning that is the real subject to heritage preservation and management processes, and as such *all* heritage is ‘intangible’ whether these values and meanings are symbolized by a physical site, place, landscape, or other physical representation, or are represented within the performances of language, dance, [or] oral histories.”¹⁸³ Smith’s radical re-thinking of heritage as inherently intangible shifts the focus from the materials and events of heritage to the affective, mnemonic, educative, and rhetorical work that these symbols and symbolic acts do for and within a vernacular community. It also shifts the

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 137.

¹⁸² *Uses of Heritage*, p. 56, emphasis mine.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

focus of heritage preservation away from management processes that aim to heterotopically restore and sustain the materials and practices of heritage. Instead, such processes should be directed toward managing the intangible dimensions of heritage in an effort to keep them moving forward without impediment.

This re-thinking of heritage as "inherently intangible," and preservation as a constitutive process that takes place between a variety of material, practiced, and immaterial elements, has important implications for considering heritage preservation in the Medina of Fez. In the following section I discuss metalsmithing practices in the Medina as an essential heritage practice for Fassi identity. I consider the meaning-making and memory work of this thousand-year old craft tradition in terms of the effects of touristic practice on local heritage production. In the context of the above discussion, I further explore the concept of memory circuits in terms of metalsmithing in the Medina, while engaging locals about the current and future state of this diminishing heritage practice. To date, none of the practices or craft-based skills endemic of the Medina of Fez have been recognized on the World Heritage intangible heritage list. As mentioned in chapter two, the original inscription of the Medina stated that the city not only "represents an outstanding architectural, archaeological, and urban heritage, but also transmits a life style, skills, and culture" that exhibits the qualities of universal heritage, and which needs to be preserved and protected.¹⁸⁴ This constitutes only an implicit recognition of intangible heritage alongside material heritage in one single listing. For that period of World Heritage history, this is a unique conflation that speaks to the complexity and complications that the various preservation campaigns that have taken place in Fez over the past forty years have encountered. However, as I discussed in the previous chapter, despite the complexity faced by the various campaigns, the

¹⁸⁴ "Medina of Fez," 2014, UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170>.

focus for preservationists has always been on the materiality and aesthetics of the Medina, with little-to-no attention to heritage practices in and of themselves.

"The Fine Music of Fez": Discordant Tonalities

"All historic cities, and Fez in particular should be regarded as complex entities whose various functions—economic, social, cultural and symbolic—form a whole. The elimination or even sudden alteration of any one of these functions would set off a gradual process of degeneration that would destroy the delicate and constantly renewed balance on which their formation and development depend and would eventually spread throughout the whole city."

-- Federico Mayor, Director General of UNESCO, 1998¹⁸⁵

To be sure, the heritage practices endemic of the Medina are multiform. From woodwork, carpet weaving, and ceramics, to metalsmithing, leatherworking, and textile work, to name a few, such crafts are a major part of the Medina's identity, both historically and in the present. As many locals informed me, each of these practices in Fez have been around for nearly as long as the city itself, a 1,200-year history that constitutes Fez as the first and oldest imperial city in Morocco. Therefore, these practices are a central feature of the "old city's" historical character. Metalsmithing perhaps in particular, mostly copper and brass work, is a chief part of the Medina's character. Many locals that I encountered claimed that it is one of the oldest, sustained metals communities in the world. Touring the Medina with a local official guide, I visited each of the respective craft cooperatives—collectives of artisans that have banded together to promote and protect their trades—but the metals craftsmen and their work is the most prevalent throughout the whole of the Medina. Moreover, while it is important not to conflate the individual crafts into a single heritage practice, a common refrain heard throughout the Medina with regard to each of these individual crafts is a concern over their future. As such, and given the limited scope of this project, this section focuses on metalsmithing in the Medina as a

¹⁸⁵ Forward, *International Campaign for Safeguarding the Medina of Fez*, UNESCO, 1998.

heritage practice. Of course, the mostly copper and brass products that these metal workers produce is indeed *material*. However, I illuminate the intangible characteristics of metalsmithing practice that exists in the space engendered by the memory circuits constituted by the elements of place(s), practice, affect, the senses, and people. This fluid, circuitous relation shapes metalsmithing's value as a meaning-making and memory tool of heritage transmission.

As such, Smith's reflections and re-thinking of heritage and preservation through her work with the Waanyi offer an appropriate starting point for engaging the metalsmithing practices in the Medina of Fez. First, however, it is important to have a better understanding of metals practices therein. In the tourist literature and even as listed as a stop along one of the tourist circuits, *Place Seffarine* is regarded as the home of the famous metalsmithing district in the Medina. As one travel website describes it, Place Seffarine "is a calm and beautiful square where bronze workers shape large and small cauldrons."¹⁸⁶ It is located nearby the al-Qarawiyyin Mosque as a rare open space within the otherwise convoluted and constantly cramped labyrinthine Medina, where five paths meet and where a large tree (an even rarer site in the Medina) grows from the center of the small space. Along the edges of the oblong square and adorning all of the merchant shops from top to bottom are brass pots, bronze and copper serving trays, full sets of the famous Moroccan tea service, lamps and lanterns. Moreover, several metalworkers perform their practice right in Place Seffarine, both in small individual or group stalls, as well as on the steps in the center of the square, working on various fabrication projects of various sizes and at various stages. Tourists flow in and out of the space, taking pictures or video while observing from a distance, and touring the stalls looking for a particular piece to bring home as a souvenir of their Moroccan experience, while bargaining with the local

¹⁸⁶ "Fes: Things to Do," Fes Cooking & Cultural Tours: Experience the Heart of Morocco, <http://fescooking.com/things-to-do-in-fes>.

merchants. Perhaps what is most immediately striking about Place Seffarine are the *sounds* of the various metalworkers engaged in their practice. As one Fassi told me on my way to find Place Seffarine, “once you get nearby all you have to do is listen. You will hear Seffarine before you see it.” Indeed, the quotidian orchestral sound of hammers against metal working in a rhythmic fashion could be heard from some distance away. Sonic articulations serve as a marker and ready-made sensorial symbol that renders Seffarine present before actually arriving.

Following Smith, considering metalsmithing as a heritage practice requires building an understanding of what constitutes heritage production. Similar to how she connected the Waanyi heritage through the relations between oral histories, bodies, affects, and place (as a “theater of memory”), metalsmithing practice also is comprised of both tangible and intangible elements. As a heritage practice, its meaning-making and memory work is cultivated from the various relations between the actual kinesthetic practice, the metalworkers, and Place Seffarine itself (as the space of its performance). Moreover, the sensorial dimensions of the place and practice also serve as an important mnemonic symbol, and should also be considered as an element in this memory circuit as well. With regard to the latter, in a translated conversation with the Mokti of Seffarine—the Trustworthy of the Medina’s entire metalsmithing cooperative comprised of over 700 individual workers—he refers to the sounds of metalworking in Place Seffarine as “the fine music of Fez.” He feels the music “animates” the Medina and is a “central part of the identity of Place Seffarine.” The Mokti is largely in-charge of resolving conflicts between makers and purchasers of metals products, of training apprentices and assigning apprentices to mentors, and he designs his own work that his apprentices make to his specifications. He talks about the importance of metalsmithing to the identity of the Medina and the Fassi people, saying that it has provided a livelihood for many across multiple generations and “gives Fez its character.” Not

only the craftwork itself is important in this regard, but how the products of their craft become central to many everyday Fassi activities, including daily and ritualistic tea services and the lanterns that light people's homes. Metalsmithing has been his whole life, learning to participate in the kinesthetic, embodied, orchestral performance from his father at a "very young age," who in turn learned from his father as well.

The Mokti is concerned with the future of metals work in the Medina, however. He has seen rapid changes over the past forty years since Fez began receiving international attention as a World Heritage city. These changes have been especially pronounced over the past twenty-five years, a time period marked by some as the "heritage boom": the global influx of heritage tourists that erupted throughout the world.¹⁸⁷ Most significant among these changes, he says, are who has become the dominant clientele—tourists—which in turn has affected the style of design as well as the pace at which the work must be done. "We used to sell only to people living here [in Fez]. Now, we make for the tourists, while the Fassi buy from the market."¹⁸⁸ This may not seem like a significant detail. By a certain logic, if heritage is constituted at the intangible relational nexus between practice, place, the sensuous (the "fine music"), and in the form of experiential knowledge, then it would seem that who the objects are *being made for* should not impact or otherwise threaten heritage meanings. But, to recall Turan, even everyday objects can have transcendent heritage values and serve as important mnemonic symbols for identity work. Discussing a displaced Armenian group in particular, Turan suggests that "copper items are among the most frequently kept objects because Armenians were well known for their artisanship in jewelry making and metalwork." For Turan, these objects symbolically tie this displaced group back to their homeland and cultural narratives, and thus "illuminate how their

¹⁸⁷ See Richard Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, cf. Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*.

¹⁸⁸ By market, he is referring to one of the shopping malls that have been developed in Villa Nouveau—the more developed and modernized part of Fez that is located outside the Medina.

traditions are sustained and continued."¹⁸⁹ The Armenians used these "objects of legacy" as a form of "active remembering" for "their gaze is both toward the past and the future..." and is seen as "a guarantee of cultural survival": a symbol both to "remember collective loss" and safeguard "cultural continuity for future generations."¹⁹⁰ Similar to the Armenians, the Fassi are also known for their metalwork and thus such objects, although quotidian by degree, are monumental in terms of their symbolic weight. Of course, such objects may not evoke the same rhetorical work for the Fassi as for the displaced Armenians, but these crafts are still a fundamental part of their heritage practice and history as a people. Who these objects are *made for*, then, speaks to two important implications with regard to heritage preservation, memory, and meaning-making in the Medina, and also to the preservation work constitutive of the memory circuits that these practices are tied up in.

First, touristic purchase of Fassi metalwork amounts to an exportation of these mnemonic tokens. As the Mokti pointed out, the products of Place Seffarine once were exclusively bought for local usage in ritualistic tea services, everyday place-setting at dinners, and for other quotidian and ceremonial practices. Keeping locally crafted objects in home-spaces formed a *closed* memory circuit for the production and preservation of heritage. Originating from the metalworkers and metal practices in Place Seffarine and distributed throughout and around the Medina, this served to sustain the relation between these metalworkers and those who used the products of their heritage craft. Locals knew where the metal items came from, possibly who made them even, and thus the connection between everyday practices at Seffarine and in everyday practices in individual homes remained intact. Tourists, on the other hand, visit the Medina from all throughout the world, buying these metal products and taking them home and

¹⁸⁹ "Material Memories in the Ottoman Empire," p. 188.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 189.

forever away from the Medina. As the circulation of these objects becomes globally widespread they are uprooted from their heritage lineage and local attachments. Heritage production, an active, relational process that takes place between a variety of practices, places, people, objects, and communities, is mnemonically sundered or rendered anew when one of these elements is dislodged from its memory circuit. Each element constitutively interanimates and supports the other, sustaining heritage value as belonging chiefly to and for those within the network, co-created and thus mutually serving. Stripping metal objects from this circuitous relation disconnects quotidian life in the home from metals practice in Seffarine, producing a rift in the Fassi's everyday heritage production and community relations. This is not merely a matter of who is purchasing the metalwork, but the fact that such objects have fallen out of common, everyday usage within the Medina itself that bears significance. Heritage objects thus risk becoming *mere* objects, or objects for the other, and being drained of their evocative, mnemonic significance.

While all heritage may in fact be intangible, an active, relational mnemonic and rhetorical process, the objects of heritage practice are still used as material tokens that lend to meaning and identity work. They serve as rhetorical symbols that can be drawn from to re-establish ties with the community in real time, while recognizing the historical, cultural past that these objects come to represent. As Turan argues, “for those who have experienced dislocation and ethnic cleansing, objects are potent touchstones to remember the past and retell stories.” In such contexts of forced displacement that she cites, “objects are essential tools for providing cultural continuity over a long period of time..., [they] reinforce 'place attachment'..." and become "critical for the continuation of cultural memory and cultural narratives...—especially if they are a part of daily

rituals like eating, cooking, and religious practice.”¹⁹¹ What seems to matter about these material tokens of memory, then, is not their materiality per se, but rather the fact that they were a part of everyday life and a constituent component of active memory circuits. For both the Fassi and Armenians, the heritage work that these objects furnish produce and uphold cultural continuity and meaning-making through their sustained relation to such circuits. Again, as Turan states, these objects “transcend their tangible quality” as a result of this symbolic import and circuitous relation, and as such, real damage can be done when they are cut from the root--the absence of the symbol furnishes a foreclosure of memory.

Edward Bruner comments on the new meanings that tourists inscribe in souvenirs and craft work. He argues that “the souvenirs that tourists gather... perform the key function of providing tourists an opportunity to tell and personalize the story of the journey. The souvenir becomes the focus of the story, less frequently about how the object [was traditionally used]... and more often about the details of the purchase” as a travel narrative. No longer an active everyday symbol, such objects instead become for aesthetics and display, a representation of the touristic status of ‘having been there,’ and a reminder of a summer abroad or a trip to the “exotic” Medina. This suggests an inverse mnemonic relationship between people, place, practice, and objects than Turan’s case studies of displaced people exemplifies. Her well-conceived analysis suggests that objects of legacy serve as symbols for a people that tie them back to their lost homeland. What is happening in the Medina, on the other hand, is that such objects that were once a staple of everyday life for hundreds of years, have now become objects *for the other*. Objects take with them a splinter of the place’s meaning.

The second implication resonates with how Smith's assertion that Waanyi women used a historically significant place as a “theater of memory” to perform heritage transmission. Such

¹⁹¹ “Material memories in the Ottoman Empire,” pp. 174 - 175.

work, she posits, functions as a form of heritage management and preservation. In her ethnographic analysis, place furnished a meaning-bearing site to stage the intangible mnemonic and rhetorical process of offering up a set of symbols, practices, and histories in order to bind people together as a collective through mutual engagement.¹⁹² As such, if places are to be viewed as theaters of memory, then the objects of everyday life used in such theaters are the mnemonic props. They function as performative symbols connecting individual people with their broader rooted cultural identity and, in turn, give such objects meaning and collective value themselves. An interrelated element with this memory circuit, meanings are filtered through such oscillating processes, giving each element a role in heritage production. As Smith demonstrated with her work with the Waanyi, heritage preservation is not about the materiality of the place, the practice, or the objects per se, nor about managing intangible practices, but rather is about the emotions and affects that exist between are thus sustained from all of these elements working in tandem. Given Smith's assertion, activating memory circuits can accordingly be seen as a mode of heritage preservation and process of sustaining cultural meanings and identity. Of course, mnemonic props may not be viewed as especially salient or overtly meaningful in such heritage transmission processes in the present-tense actions themselves; a bowl or lantern is likely taken only for its functional value and general practicality by those who use it. However, given that they serve as ties between Seffarine and homes throughout the Medina, the people and practices endemic of each, they do serve as objects of rhetorical import that, if extracted from this relation, change the overall nature of the memories produced. Mnemonic modification risks occluding the fluid pathways of heritage preservation as such.

Bruner's suggestion about souvenirs also points to another issue. He refers to souvenirs as “mnemonic devices for storytelling,” and further contends that through such objects of touristic

¹⁹² *Uses of Heritage*, pp. 44 - 48.

experience “different sensory codes are [also] brought into play.”¹⁹³ He offers an anecdote to make his point, recounting how his wife’s purchase of a Maasi doll from the field work they conducted together in Estonia still evokes the experience of the Maasi village through its olfactory association.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, the relation between objects, the senses, and memory is also illuminated by the well-known exemplar of Proust’s account of the string of memories elicited from taste and smell of the madeleine. In terms of souvenirs and their function as mnemonics to ground travel stories, then, the metalwork that tourists purchase from Seffarine is also similarly accompanied by a sensorial dimension that has important implications in terms of changing the elemental relations in the production of heritage.

What the Mokti affectionately refers to as the “fine music of Fez,” tourists have also begun to identify and associate with Place Seffarine. These sensorial memories become the soundtrack for the travel narratives inscribed in the metalwork qua souvenir, and become sonic symbols that mark Seffarine as a place to be visited while touring the Medina, as well as the markers that lead the way. As one tourist writes in a blog post titled “Shopping for Metal in Fes,” Place Seffarine is “the small square named after the coppersmiths who still work there – pounding copper and brass to produce all sorts of metal products. In fact, you can hear Place Seffarine before you actually see it, the rhythmic sounds of hammer against metal reverberate down the narrow alleys of the medina.”¹⁹⁵ Similarly, this sensorial experience was also recorded in a travel op-ed in the New York Times: “Sometimes we didn’t need to look to find our way. Place Seffarine, a breezy square, was recognizable by its soundtrack: metal clanging on metal,” and in another travel website, “You will know that you are approaching Seffarine when you hear

¹⁹³ *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*, pp. 24 - 25.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Julie, K. “Shopping for Metal in Fes,” AFAR, the Experiential Travel Guide, 2013, <http://www.afar.com/highlights/shopping-for-metal-in-fes>.

the musical banging that is surprisingly calming." This sentiment was also recorded on two-of-three separate accounts reviewing Place Seffarine on TripAdvisor.¹⁹⁶ The intangibility of sound requires an embodied and embedded presence to be experienced and recalled. Such accounts presuppose a traveler's having been there. Just as the metalwork once circulated through the Medina as a part of an intangible network between place, people, objects, and practices, so too did the "fine music." Now, the music has become a part of a global memory written in travel narratives, a silent accompaniment to the metalwork on display as symbols of experience in foreign lands. As such, the mnemonic function of Seffarine's soundtrack, its relation within the intangible circuitous relations constitutive of heritage production, also runs the risk of being transformed in its evocative tonalities and mnemonic pitch. Its mnemonics transposed, the music that once played to the rhythm of everyday life in the Medina, now silently plays from countless mantels throughout the world—its local resonances risk being drained of their evocative weight. This is not a matter of *removing* the sonic symbols as it is with removing the metalwork itself, for the fine music indeed still plays in Fez and only plays in memories and tourist narratives around the globe. But whom it is played for at Seffarine modifies its meanings and shifts it from its position in the memory circuit, as the craft performance is no longer directed with the everyday household as an end destination.

"Where are the Storytellers?": When Heritage Becomes History

The Mokti and other craft workers in the Medina see metalsmithing and craft practices as forms of heritage preservation. When asked what his concerns are for the future, the Mokti says that he is worried that the "dynamic of Seffarine are getting down" [sic] because there is no one

¹⁹⁶ Seth Sherwood, "The Soul of Fez," New York Times, April 8, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/08/travel/08Fez.html?pagewanted=1>; "'Special Square in the Medina,' A Review of Place Seffarine," TripAdvisor, http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g293733-d481052-Reviews-Place_Seffarine-Fes_Fes_Boulemane_Region.html.

to pass the skills and traditions on to, and that metalworks do not have a place in Fassi's daily life like they once did. As the meaning and relations change between metalsmithing practices, old and new generations, the "fine music" and how it is understood, and Place Seffarine as a theater of memory, no amount of material preservation can mend these altered or perhaps *broken* linkages. The production of heritage, always constituted at the intangible nexus between such multiple actors, objects, practices, and places, becomes threatened when such radical changes cannot be overcome or productively adapted to. Damaged and dilapidated material fabric of a World Heritage city may be restored through careful planning, restorative practices, and preservation. But the intangible heritage—the meanings that are transmitted and sustained between such relations—that exists as a condition of a complex memory circuit is much more unstable. When any one of the binding, active forces within this complex set becomes altered or is removed altogether, or when other elements are added such as a mobile population of experience seekers and souvenir collectors, then the nature and process of heritage production is bound to be threatened. Crossing the touristic circuit with the relations of the memory circuit endemic of metalsmithing practice renders deleterious effects. The Mokti indeed views metalsmithing as a form of preservation. However, his fears for the future of this tradition and the meaning inscribed therein is premised on what he views as a rapid diminution of such relations, which may no longer be reconciled. For him, these traditions are already fading. In his own words concerning metalsmithing in the Medina: "It will disappear one day. The handicraft will persist but the craft will die. For me, it will be dead."

Heritage preservation is chiefly a rhetorical and educative process of one generation effectively and actively mobilizing a set of symbols—practiced, embodied, felt, spoken, emplaced—to render them meaningful and mnemonically salient for the younger generation in

order for the process to be sustainable. As such, while the Motki and the other artisans of Place Seffarine understand the notion of craft practice as preservation, concerns persist over the sustainability of metalsmithing in the Medina, and by extension, other craft practices too.

I had an opportunity to meet with twelve graduate and upper level undergraduate students in a three-hour roundtable that I co-organized around the topics of heritage, memory and crafts in the Medina. Hassan, my friend and co-organizer, is also interested in heritage preservation specifically through metalsmithing practices as his father is teh Mokti of Fez. As such, he often served as the facilitator that kept the conversation focused on metals practices as opposed to a broader discussion on crafts in general. The students studied and represented a range of disciplinary backgrounds, from cultural studies, Korean studies, and art education, to French literature, applied linguistics, and philosophy. All of them had grown up in Fez—a few in the Medina—and they were all aware of the World Heritage idea and had different degrees of understanding what that meant. While the colloquium did provide an accessible forum to engage a younger population, it is perhaps not the ideal population in that it is somewhat narrowly representative of this demographic. In general, however, and despite these limitations, the idea of heritage preservation was understood by most if not all of them, and they all felt that the Medina was a special place not only for Morocco (“it is the soul of our country”) but also for the world (“the Medina is one of a kind”). Moreover, while the majority of these students, although born in the Medina, did not grow up there, they still expressed a sense of deep attachment and respect for the “old city” and see it as a significant part of Fassi life. As one of them stated regarding this sense of attachment to the Medina, “you can never forget about it, because it is a part of you” [sic]. In this sense, the Medina is seen as a chief part of their heritage and cultural identity, and a place that is associated with a collective memory that is deeply rooted in the Fassi past.

However, as the discussion moved from a general talk about the Medina itself to the preservation of crafts as heritage practice, the tone began to change from pride and attachment to a sense of nostalgia and loss. They expressed a concern over the fact that most of their generation do not understand that craftwork is a crucial part of everyday and historical life in the Medina. The common assumption among the younger and college-aged generation in Fez is that the Medina "will never go away" and "will never change." Many of their friends and peers, along with their older and younger brothers and sisters, and even mothers and fathers, no longer buy local crafts from Seffarine and the other craft cooperatives. For them, it is "too expensive, and inconvenient," especially when they can get a machine-made tea set or djellaba from the local mall for "much cheaper" and in the contemporary styles. The malls are a new phenomenon in Fez, and recently one was even erected in what was formerly demarcated as a "no-construction zone": a space surrounding the Medina that served as a buffer between the "old city" and Villa Nouveau with the intentions of protecting the former from the "threats" of modern development. "People no longer value the difference between hand-made crafts" and those made by a machine, and they do not understand that "machines destroy the authenticity of a thing." To this end, the students lamented the lack of education that the Fassi received about their own heritage and the meanings inscribed in traditional practices and hand-made artifacts. For them, the new mall represented the state of heritage preservation in the Medina. If such a beacon of the modern world can be constructed in a space set aside for the old and traditional, then sooner or later the long arms of progress would reach out and envelope all that once was.

Many of the students claimed to have roots that tied them to the craft traditions in the Medina, whether it was their fathers and mothers, or grandfathers and grandmothers who previously worked or still work the trades. But as Fez started getting more and more attention

from the Western world around the time of these students were born, largely as a result of World Heritage designation, questions of child labor entered the scene, accompanied by the notion that children should receive a formal education from an early age. As a result of such attention and changes in the discursive and pedagogical landscape, children were sent to school instead of Seffarine and other cooperatives, where they learned the *history* of crafts and craft traditions but no longer learned the *practices*. "Education is key," asserted the art student, but "history is worthless without references." That is, the students agreed that learning in the classroom and through a textbook is indeed important to gaining an understanding of the past in historical form, but without those symbolic moments that attach such historical meanings to the body through kinesthetic practice, such traditions become *mere history* at the occlusion of memory. "The crafts traditions are an important part of our heritage," claimed the same student, "but we no longer have a direct relation to these objects... [and so] we no longer have any references." Instead of learning the crafts through practice, they learn the history of the crafts, thus separating their immediate and tactile relationship to these heritage objects and memory circuits, effectively draining them of their mnemonic weight and affective force.

Transmitting heritage meaning and memories through such practices is an emplaced and dialogical process that operates through the kinesthetic and the visual, the discursive and affective. As I have argued, the meanings and memories constituted by and constitutive of these processes circulate and are filtered through the materiality of the objects, place and bodies, along with the emotions, the senses, and spaces in between. Unraveling any of these elements from a memory circuit runs the risk of transforming the meanings and memories that are shaped through these processes. Substantiated through such relations, the intangible nature of heritage requires kinesthetic and embodied inscription. When heritage becomes history, when learned practice

becomes instead the content of a lecture or exam, the kinesthetic dimension of this heritage transmission process is rendered inoperative. As I have suggested and the students allude to, heritage production is not merely about the practice nor about the knowledge per se. Instead, the experiences, emotions, knowledges, and affects fostered in the space between these different relations are what opens a horizon for remembrance. Educative and rhetorical functions of learning the skills and knowledges of the crafts does not simply pass on the metalsmithing tradition in itself. In addition to such knowledges, the visual dynamics, rooted histories, and kinesthetic skills, along with the meanings, memories, and the affects of emplaced community relations that are inscribed through craft work is what constitutes heritage production. In effect, learning such practices and becoming an embodied, active participant in the fluid memory circuit is an act of heritage preservation and management in itself.

Conclusion

Kinesthetic disconnect of such memory work and heritage transmission leaves only history to tell the tale of the past. As the students and younger generation are still living in the spaces and places and among the older generation that still carries these meanings in their own bodies and practices, such a disconnect results in a nostalgia for the unlived. An absence of memory that stands as a shadow in peripheral vision, but which can never be reached, grasped, or seen in full. "Where are the story tellers? Where are the people who tell the stories?" laments Hassan, my main contact and co-organizer of the student forum. He, in particular, the son of the Mokti of Place Seffarine, feels the nostalgic pangs of an unobtainable memory. As Smith writes, "the theme of remembering alerts us to the idea that heritage is a culturally directed process of intense emotional power, that is both a personal and social act or making sense of, and

understanding, the past in the present.”¹⁹⁷ Without the tangible references of embodied practice and the direct tactile relation to these heritage objects produced in Seffarine, such memory-work can never be fully substantiated; without direct access to this memory circuit, Hassan's relation to the past can only be one mediated by history. Storytellers no longer tell their heritage tales in the Medina, but they still linger as spectral traces and heritage apparitions in the spaces of disconnect between the old and new generation. While Hassan is a dedicated student and training to become an active part of the residency program through which I conducted this study, he says that he would give up his formal education to go back and learn in Place Seffarine instead. "It is too late now, though. The people working in Seffarine have been learning the crafts since they were five years old. Handicraft is a collective production," and these "people are connected [by] their roles within and throughout the Medina." For Hassan, like many others his age and of his generation, there is no going back to tie into these connective networks, nor to hear the heritage tales through their own embodied practices. Mindful of the heritage meanings and memories that drift before them unattainable, the new generation must settle for history and re-invent their own sense of connections to the Medina of Fez.

Heritage is intangible and unforgiving in its fragility. Its transmission requires an active and forward-moving relation between a variety of elements—places, objects, practices, bodies, senses, discourse, affects, communities—each of which plays a constitutive role in the sustained preservation of the meanings and memories inscribed therein. “By de-privileging the physical aspects of heritage,” Smith writes, “the elements that link heritage with identity and social and cultural values and meanings [become] illuminated.”¹⁹⁸ Throughout this chapter I have tried to identify these various elements at play in the metalsmithing practices in the Medina of Fez, their

¹⁹⁷ *Uses of Heritage*, p. 304.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 307.

relationship to one another, and how the alteration of any of these elements risks a diminution of heritage transmission and the memory-work that it lends itself to. In pointing out these relations and elements, my goal has been to destabilize and material privilege of heritage preservation, and re-think heritage production as essentially intangible and constituted by memory circuits that require constant and active management and transmission. Moving away from the heteropic "otherness" of Medina as preserved place, this chapter has engaged vernacular accounts of living memory and heritage practice in the Medina as an active place in real time.

For Hassan and his cohort, a palpable sense of nostalgia for the unlived furnishes a crisis of identity and an irrecoverable connection to the meanings and memories lived in the past and embodied through practice and connective relations. It is likely that this sense of nostalgia and loss is likely unique among today's generation living in Fez. In this sense, the above analysis and discussion of this nostalgic orientation to heritage meanings is not meant to be totalizing or an all pervasive sentiment among the younger generation. Based on the number of internet cafes, McDonalds, and the newly constructed malls in Villa Nouveau, among other Western institutions, it might be that the students that I spoke with represent a small minority of the contemporary population. Moreover, the loss or alteration of heritage meanings and memories as they stand for the older generation is not necessarily a crisis in the dire sense of the word; change happens, memories only die for new ones to be created, and meanings are always shifting with the passage of time. But the irony of the Western preservation rationality and the World Heritage global place-making campaign is that it ostensibly accelerates the very processes it aims to arrest. The material privilege of heritage preservation and the global transmission of its material and aesthetic dimensions, whether in monumental or urban form, are what constitutes "universal heritage" under this Western-centric logic. Such definitions, rationalities, and preservationist

practices obviates the possibility of alternative, non-Western articulations of heritage meanings. Even the introduction of the "intangible heritage" category into the World Heritage catalogue, as Smith pointed out, is imbued with a logic that seeks to arrest decay and disallow the fluid transmission of memories through rhetorical practice. For heritage to be preserved, it must be considered as an active, relational process that clears the way for meanings and memories to move, for the fine music to resound, and for practices to proliferate dialogically.

The idea of preserving heritage is essentially an effort to secure its safe passage for use in the future. As such, the greatest threat to this transmission process is that a rift or breakage will separate this generational linkage, resulting in the loss or diminution of heritage value and its meanings. What heritage(s) should be preserved is a fundamental question second only to who it will be passed along to, along with through what communicative and rhetorical means. The World Heritage program, as a global place-making and place-saving campaign and now a protector of intangible heritage practices as well, ostensibly has the best intentions in their preservationist efforts. But, as I argued in chapter one, the ideas of universal value and unity in diversity, along with the heritagization protocols constitutive of the preservationist apparatus, render heterotopic effects that spatially disembeds these places and freezes them in time. A change in discursive and material relations, the appearance of foreign bodies moving through local space, such are the silent plights of local actors that obscure the subtle flights of time that slip through the freeze-frame heterotopia; heritage is always already present yet waning into the deep. Chiefly a rhetorical and mnemonic process of actively passing meaning and heritage value from one generation to the next, the preservation of these meanings and memories, when drained of their forward-moving dynamic and evocative force, becomes instead the empty process of

passing on a mnemonic corpse or a body foreign to the past. If there is no direct linkage between the past and the present generation, more readily dissoluble heritage becomes.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The World Heritage program emerged out of an anxiety that the rapid progression of our modern world was eroding the spaces and places that represented the great accomplishments of our collective history. Efforts to identify, catalogue, restore, and preserve these places of universal heritage have sought to arrest such decay. Working toward fostering a global community of recognition and mutual responsibility in the protection of these symbols of the past, the World Heritage program is now among the most adhered to international instruments in history. Conflicts in determining what is to be preserved, through what means, and how these symbols are to be defined and narrated back to the world are inevitable given the plurality of cultural epistemologies and meaning-making modalities. Despite such conflicts and inescapable tensions, the fact that nearly 1000 cultural sites, artifacts, and monuments have been inscribed on the List perhaps speaks to a shared global sentiment for this preservationist ethic.

On the other hand, that the World Heritage emblem represents such a major economic boost due to the recent surge in heritage tourism begs a different set of questions. Who determines heritage value? What voice, if any, do indigenous publics have in contributing to the narrative that represents their own past on the world stage? Caught up in a Western-centric conception of heritage and preservation, the sites and intangible practices that are inscribed on the List risk becoming products of a preservationist apparatus that renders heritage value anew and alters spatial dynamics. Scholars in critical heritage studies have cautioned against and criticized such a monolithic and hypostatizing management and preservation system. While Smith, Harrison, and others have begun to consider non-Western conceptions of heritage and preservation, much work still needs to be done to understand the effects of the dominant

preservation processes on living memory communities. If all heritage is intangible, delicate in its fragility and inherently unstable, it seems that any outside management system aiming to assist in its preservation will unsettle the memory circuits that sustain its meanings. Identifying everyday practices of preservation and vernacular understandings of heritage thus becomes a means of re-thinking dominant heritage management systems altogether.

However, the World Heritage program's ambitious place-making and global preservation campaign constitutes a new world order as an imagined community of a mutually shared past that is set aside from the everyday. In chapter two, I critically engaged the driving principles and protocols that underpin this endeavor and which together constitute the preservationist apparatus. In applying these mechanisms to communities of living memory, these places are re-configured in space and time, reflecting back all of the other places that are similarly articulated. World Heritage sites thus become heterotopias through these top-down processes, a static and surface deep aestheticization conflicting with the active and fluid memory places that require flux and mobility. In demarcating the boundaries of where universal heritage begins and ends, providing a narrative that inscribes a site, and through heritagization processes of restoring and curating the material past, local actors have little recourse in maintaining control of the rhetorical resources of mnemonic import. Static preservation models run the risk of occluding the requisite dynamic pathways that allow meanings and memories to flow onward.

Chapter 3 took me as an embodied tourist to the Medina of Fez and offered a bottom-up analysis of how the World Heritage heterotopia is sustained and grounded. Expanding the heterotopia lens in this way afforded an explication of how the World Heritage as a concept city is given material salience through a variety of actors. While the touristic circuit offers a pre-made story intended to be followed along with and read, the pedestrian rhetorics of tourists, as foreign

bodies moving through local space, re-writes these stories and gives new meaning to the local Medina spaces. In turn, these spatial practices give extra weight to the heterotopia, ground it through these rhetorics of walking, and concretize it in the practices of consuming material places, artifacts, and monuments therein. Such practices are bolstered by local-level preservationist campaigns, veritable proxies and embodiments of the preservationist apparatus. Through these spatial and material practices, meanings emerge and circulate that disembeds the Medina in space and time, operationalizing the World Heritage idea in the process. While not passive receptors to this dominant discourse, the Fassi hack into its narratives and re-cycle them in spaces of interaction with the foreign other, thus giving further weight to heteropic effects. Even if such utterances ("we are a city of universal heritage") and local embodiments of the touristic circuit ("tannery is that way") are performative in nature and a means of making do, the fact that such discourses arise in these interactions is enough to alter the spatial dynamics and meanings distributed therein. The Fassi likely do not carry these same practices and utterances with them behind closed curtains in their off-script vernacular culture. However, ultimately their performances have real effects and perhaps concretize the heterotopia in space and time; their discourse and performance creates and reflects a reality, an actually existing utopia.

Accessing the vernacular in chapter 4, I then engaged the metalsmithing community and two generations of Fassi over the question of memory and heritage preservation today. I found that the Mokti and the metalworkers view their craft practice as a form of heritage preservation in itself. However, concerns persist over the sustainability of the meanings and memories that such practices represent and carry on. Not only are such mnemonics modified as a result of the presence and material-souvenir consumption practices of tourists and the broken connection between Seffarine and the everyday household once fostered by metal objects, but also by a

generational rift in this meaning-making practice. Heritage can only be preserved so long as it is actively produced through an embodied, connective, rhetorical, and educative transmission process. The younger generation I engaged, although able to see the practices and speak with the metalworkers of a previous generation, today feel a sense of nostalgia for the unlived, standing in front of a living memory that they cannot grasp onto or fully embrace. Such vernacular articulations speak to Smith's assertion for the inherently intangible nature of all heritage. As such, I considered what this looks like in terms of a non-material-centric preservation model. Through examining the meaning-making processes that occurs between a relational ensemble of people, places, kinesthetic practices, affects, senses, experiences, and other elements, I advanced a concept of memory circuits as an everyday modality of heritage production and thus preservation. While the memory circuits in the Medina of Fez, at least those constitutive of metalsmithing practices, are ostensibly broken or in a state of diminution, new memories and meanings are no doubt arising in their place. New generations, new people, a new sense of how heritage is defined and what is passed on to the future is inevitable, while the old falls to mere history.

This project offers several contributions that could be picked up and utilized for future scholarship for both rhetorical studies and critical heritage studies. First, at least to a degree, it responds to nascent calls in the latter discipline for further engagements with non-Western conceptions of heritage and intangible heritage preservation. The concept of memory circuits provides a means to consider how intangible heritage is produced and preserved through a fluid and active process that occurs between various actors, practices, and other elements. Considering these meaning-making processes through a rhetorical lens affords a window into the complex transmission processes that give way to the passage of memories from one generation to the next.

Preservation no longer becomes a practice of arresting decay and putting on display, but instead a forward-moving and deeply constitutive mnemonic modality that does not privilege either the material symbol or the practice in itself. Instead, it requires considering all of the available means of preservation that comprise a given circuit, how they work together and through each other, and thus how these circuitous relations can be sustained through the effective movement of cultural symbols. As such, perhaps outside efforts of preservation are in fact an imposition, a form of silent violence that modifies such moving modalities. On the other hand, since the global drive to preserve the past will likely not recede any time soon, nor do I suggest it should, considering the rhetorical and interanimative dimensions of such preservation processes may lend to emergent methods for engaging heritage campaigns. In this sense, this project brings together recent work in rhetorical studies that suggests a need to attend to the processes of memory and people-in-places, with those in critical heritage studies that are proffering vernacular models of heritage preservation. Future collaborations or other disciplinary crossovers could expand on this work and further extend the notion of memory circuits in future case studies.

Second, my re-appropriation and extension of Foucault's concept of heterotopia could also impact future scholarship. Instead of reifying World Heritage sites as heteropic in nature, or using the term in the limited sense as merely a place disembedded in space and time, I employed heterotopia as a lens to consider the effects of a World Heritage campaign on a community of living memory. In this sense, heterotopia could be re-deployed as a spatio-mnemonic lens for both rhetorical studies and critical heritage studies. Questions of how such spatial arrangements and the meanings that are inscribed therein are constructed from not only the top-down, but also sustained and grounded from the bottom up, could provide a means of considering the

construction of such "other places" and their effects. If discourse and spatial practices sustains and grounds the heterotopia, then heterotopic spaces can also be considered as parallel rhetorical universes; here, the heterotopia as a "space of the other" is also *the space of the other discourse*. The World Heritage heterotopia, as an actually existing utopia, is thus conditional upon the interaction of bodies, at the level of language, and through performative actions. While the heterotopia may be used to consider other spaces that meet Foucault's requirements, how it comes into being through such interactions in space provides for a deeper understanding of its essential "otherness." As a research lens, it thus helps to make sense of the rhetorics at play on the local-level, and how top-down processes are articulated, subverted, or actuated on the ground.

This type of analysis, teasing out the bottom up renderings, requires not only a textual analysis from on high, but also an embodied researcher present on and in the scene. I would not have been able to offer this larger argument from a mere textual analysis; the field work was necessary in this sense, albeit the results were surprising. My being positioned as a white, male embodied tourist moving through space, at least with those who I did not engage in greater depth, afforded a window into how the privileged foreign body serves as a symbol that fosters its own set of reactionary discourses. In turn, my embodiment and embeddedness not only became a means of accessing the living rhetorics at play in the Medina, but also became a research tool to tease out the bottom-up processes that lend to heterotopic effects. Moreover, in moving through the Medina as an embodied tourist, my own body fostered heterotopic effects as well through my very presence, lending itself to other discourses. Considering the construction of a heterotopia through identifying the effects and processes at work within and upon a given research scene,

then, should perhaps allow for the concept to be dislodged from its contested status. Heterotopia should be re-deployed as a spatio-mnemonic lens for rhetorical studies.

It would be interesting to see how different bodies affect the discursive landscape and if such differences elicit the same responses from locals. What does the Chinese body represent? Does the white female body produce a similar reaction to the white male body? What about other races, sized, ethnic bodies? It is possible that the World Heritage heterotopia exists in spaces of interaction more for the white male than for others; that the privilege and economic power recognized and exploited by indigenous actors is represented most strongly by white men. If such a claim could be substantiated, notions of a nascent form of colonialism manifested in this gendered heritage gaze could perhaps be explored, although such implications and conjectures are well beyond what this limited project can offer. These questions are worth further explorations in conducting future embodied spatial analyses by other non-white male researchers.

The inscription of a cultural site on the List throws into relief a whole range of protocols, processes, and mechanisms that latch onto local places and re-constitutes them from the top-down as a relational node in a broader global network. In the Medina of Fez this has also given way to bottom-up heterotopic effects that compliment and support this global system. To what extent this process goes on at other World Heritage sites cannot be told from this limited and localized analysis. The pre-conditions for such bottom-up heterotopic renderings addressed above are present at most if not all sites. The global circulation and ubiquity of the World Heritage discourse, the spatial influx and presence of tourists, the material privilege of local preservationists, are all indeed a common feature among these places once Listed. However, local participation, even if it is merely a performative means of making do, in upholding the

World Heritage discourse in spaces of interaction with tourists may not be as common as it seemed to be in the Medina. The World Heritage status of any other given city may be the only factor defining it as such globally, whereas it is only an afterthought or asterisk for locals living therein. Moreover, even tourists visiting a cultural destination may not be aware of its World Heritage status, and thus such sites exist only in experts and insider's minds, and on the List itself. Accordingly, my analysis of the Medina of Fez is necessarily a limited and narrow reading of how a local place is constructed as a World Heritage city and heterotopia, and cannot be applied to all World Heritage sites throughout the world. However, my analysis, theoretical framework, and embodied methodology could be picked up and re-deployed in future case studies, although likely requiring modification to meet the contingent context. In this sense, although this narrow reading could be seen as a limitation in the above sense, its specificity may also be used productively as a heuristic for further engagements with World Heritage sites in particular.

Along these same lines, another limitation to this study, although which also proved to be an advantage in a sense, was my embodiment and field work in itself. With a constrained schedule, it would have been ideal to spend much more than a month in the Medina of Fez to get a deeper and more nuanced reading. Being able to speak Moroccan Arabic as opposed to relying on translators would have also helped in certain settings. Moreover, my position as a white American could also be seen as a limitation in that it immediately marks me as privileged, an outsider, and also a tourist. However, although I was unprepared for this type of analysis prior arriving in Morocco, my positionality as a white male outsider gave me access to a set of discourses elicited by the symbol of the touristic body. As a project initially intended to focus more on the materiality of heritage preservation campaigns in this non-Western context (to

respond to critical heritage studies' call), the materiality of my own body gave way to unexpected results; this positionality gave way to an unexpected engagement with this discursive scene. To have tried to hide or elide my status as a privileged white American then, would have been to ignore this discursive phenomenon and the rhetorics at play through the body. Moreover, while the majority of white tourists who visit Fez do not speak Moroccan Arabic either, this also led to my further positioning as a member of this mobile class and population. Finally, although speaking Moroccan Arabic would have given me access to further vernacular understandings of the state and meaning of heritage preservation and memory work in the Medina today, I was fortunate to make key connections early on. Not only did I happen upon two different elites who represent the primary preservationist actor-types, one of whom was a part of the bloodline of the founder of Fez. But my early connection with Hassan who co-organized the student forum, who was also studying heritage preservation, and whose father was the Mokti of Seffarine also proved to be highly invaluable and indeed serendipitous. It is difficult to plan accordingly for field work and perhaps it is better that I did not have too rigid of a plan in place, instead allowing for the happenstance to dictate my research experience. Working in non-Western contexts will always have a variety of limitations, perhaps especially as a white American, but paying attention, keeping an open orientation, a sense of adaptability to the larger possibilities, and meeting people can indeed provide for a fruitful analysis. Productively using and adapting to one's own limitations can lead to surprising results.

Finally, this project intentionally did not engage the questions of Morocco's (multiple) colonial past (and thus post-colonialism), the Oriental origins of preservationist discourses, or broader discussions on Moroccan history and its current political context. To be sure, these research lenses and dominant frameworks could easily be applied to the case of World Heritage

in Moroccan cultural contexts. However, given the confines of this limited project, I instead chose to use my experience in the Medina of Fez to the fullest; advance a more organic criticism that worked from the bottom up; embrace my embodiment as a research tool; and did not attempt to place a top-down frame over my raw experiences. That said, future scholarship that does employ post-colonialist or Oriental frameworks could use this project in such field work analyses of the Medina of Fez. Critical heritage studies in general tends to steer clear of such readings and dominant frames, but perhaps this is a future direction that could be picked up and followed. That the white foreign body elicited a certain kind of response in spaces of interaction could suggest colonialist traces that the locals identify with, although my results do not immediately lead to such an assumption without connecting dots that may, in fact, not be there, or would be forced into the picture. The World Heritage program is unique in itself as an ambitious place-making process that States Parties across the globe are readily adhering to and nominating their sites for. My analysis, then, was an attempt to consider the processes of how such place-making protocols and policies are put into operation and how they affect local spaces and discourses.

Heritage is everywhere. This global obsession with identifying, cataloguing, preserving, transmitting, and consuming the immensely diverse places and practices of memory is one of the emergent defining features of our contemporary age. The efforts to protect cultural heritages in danger of being pushed aside or consumed by the spatial progress of the modern world should be lauded in many contexts. I have no doubt that many Fassi embrace the fact that the international community is re-building their monuments and restoring their city. Similarly, as I pointed out in the previous chapter, there are many who do not share Hassan and Mokti's sense of nostalgia. No doubt, the World Heritage program has given way to a different means of considering what it is we should cherish in this world, and what processes rendered by modern progress we need to be

wary of or guard against. While this project has no doubt assumed a critical tone throughout, in no way do I consider this a broad and all consuming critique of the World Heritage idea. Instead, what this project has attempted to do is to continue pushing the dialogue on what non-Western cultures may consider to be worthy of holding on to, how meaning-making and memory work functions in such contexts, and thus how global and monolithic preservation models need to attend to such divergences. I contend that this analysis could be utilized as a model for future examinations of the potential effects of when a World Heritage preservation campaign is employed in a community of living memory. Moreover, through such embodied spatial analyses, future work could attend to local articulations of how heritage is produced, preserved, and transmitted in other non-Western contexts through aiming to identify other endemic and localized memory circuits. My analysis and engagement with the Medina of Fez certainly cannot speak to nor be applied to all other World Heritage sites, nor can the practices of metalsmithing speak for all the craft practices in the Medina itself. However, the advantage of a reading from the body and through a heterotopia lens is that it allows for productive re-use and re-appropriation at other sites, not constrained by particular histories or larger frames. Similarly, the advantage of the memory circuits concept is that it allows for the fluidity and contingency of such meaning-making and memory work instead of attempting to define heritage from the outside or arrest it against decay. One can only hope that these fluid frames, concepts, and bottom-up methodologies may afford other possibilities for a more grounded and local-level schema for approaching the preservation and production of cultural meanings and identities.

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